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COMMUNITY CARE: THE IMPACT OF CURRENT WELFARE POLICIES AND IDEOLOGIES  
ON OLDER PEOPLE IN HERTFORDSHIRE AND BEDFORDSHIRE

DAVID BARRETT MA CQSW CertSW

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the  
Council for National Academic Awards for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

February 1992

Middlesex Polytechnic

## ABSTRACT

Community Care: The impact of current Welfare Policies and Ideologies on Older People in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire.

PhD thesis - JC/BARRETT/M2/ - Middlesex Polytechnic

David Barrett

February 1992

This thesis investigates whether community care policy and service delivery is rhetoric or reality.

The social policy and under-pinning ideologies that surround community care are reviewed. Important benchmarks are presented in the form of a chronology and aetiology of The National Health Service and Community Care Act, 1990.

An interview schedule was designed from the perspective of older people and was used with a sample of 40 older people, 20 at Luton in an inner-city setting and 20 in Redbourn (Herts), a rural location.

The qualitative research design allowed the respondents to express themselves with minimal interference from the researcher. The purpose of the in-depth interviews was to explore their lives including everyday experiences, the process of retirement, important Governmental influences and views of themselves. Their access to services was also considered.

The data gave detailed descriptions of everyday life, including the concerns of economic and political influences. From the data the concept of 'Economic Fragility' was developed, this replaced Social Class as a variable.

Similar patterns of experience emerged for some groups of respondents, these included connections with 'pervasive economics', gender and the semiotic of language. Further analysis highlighted conceptual connections at both a micro and macro theoretical level, the former focusing on life cycles and the latter revealing how political social control, in its present form, marginalises and manipulates certain groups of older people into becoming 'problem' populations. The relationship between the micro/macro concepts is of major significance to the programme in the identification of a predictable career path for the 'Economically Fragile'. This culminates in personal experiential journeys through the Social Incarceration Spiral.

Further, some theoretical considerations are explored and some alternative policy proposals are made. Finally, this programme argues that Community Care as an ideology, current policy and service, as propounded by the current Government, is seriously flawed.



Community Care: The impact of current Welfare Policies and Ideologies  
on Older People in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire.

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It feels like a 'team' effort but the CNAA would probably disapprove of such sentiments! I, alone, will therefore be accountable for the contents!

Last but not least, my two fore'fingers and the Amstrad 8512. Jeanne and Julie both advised me in 1988, at the start of the programme I had to learn to type. This was both frightening and a formidable task, thankfully I did not withdraw then, although it was an enticing prospect!

Thanks again to you all.

No author and no reader changes the meaning of words. The struggle of discourses changes their meanings, and so the combination in which we put words together matters, and the order of propositions matters: through these, whatever our intentions, words take on meaning.

Macdonell 1986: 51

Macdonell, D. (1986) *Theories of Discourse: An Introduction*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell

## PLAN OF WORK - TIME-SCALE

JULY' 88

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STAGE I	FORMULATING THE PROBLEM AND PROGRAMME DESIGN INCLUDING BIBLIOGRAPHIC REVIEW
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APRIL' 89

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STAGE II	PILOT STUDY
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MAY' 89

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STAGE III	FINAL DECISIONS ABOUT SAMPLING
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JULY' 89

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STAGE IV	DATA CREATION
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JULY' 90

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STAGE V	DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETAION
(i)	AN ACCOUNT OF THE DATA AND INTERPRETATIONS

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MARCH' 91

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APPLY TO TRANSFER FROM MPhil TO PhD
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APRIL' 91

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(ii)	DISCUSSION OF POLICIES, THEIR IMPACT AND ALTERNATIVES
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APRIL' 92

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STAGE, VI	PREPARATION OF DRAFT
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OCT' 92

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STAGE VII	COMPLETION AND PRESENTATION OF THESIS
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MARCH' 93

## INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

One of the most pleasing aspects of this research programme has been the sense of swimming in the distinctly dangerous waters, with all its undercurrents, in the arena of community care but nevertheless being able to keep buoyant and thus make some headway towards the aim of testing and exploring the programme's hypothesis.

One of the most enlightening aspects has been the interpreting and subsequent writing up of the results. Creative methodologies have evolved throughout the research programme and process which have contributed to making the findings more understandable and concise.

The thesis itself is divided into four major parts: the introduction, Part I - Formulating The Problem; an outline of the programme's methodology, Part II - The Research Process; a discussion of its findings, Part III - Data Analysis: Findings and Interpretations; and finally, Part IV - Discussion Of Policies: Their Impact And Alternatives. A thorough analysis and evaluation of the programme is also included in Part III under the title of 'Limitations...

Generally speaking then, the format and structure of this thesis reflects the structure and process of the research programme itself. In this programme there is a heavy emphasis upon the qualitative approach to research and the corresponding and evolving research methodologies; these became a cornerstone of the programme's style and findings.

One of the researcher's objectives in presenting the thesis in this unencumbered way is that what was done and why, the outcome and the subsequent conclusions, remain clear to the reader throughout. Readers can then reach their own decisions about the adequacy of the research and the validity of the findings. Balancing the right amount of detail whilst struggling to retain objectivity and focus has not been easily achieved. Many other commentators refer to this problem, (eg Arkava & Lane, 1983, p195).

Writing simply and clearly, albeit in the jargonised world of Community Care, and the wider worlds of Sociology and Social Policy, was a desire that was earnestly striven for. This thesis has aspired to meet those expectations and achieve those ends.

PART I FORMULATING THE PROBLEM

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## INTRODUCTION - PART I

With the implementation of Community Care in Britain and the continuing evaluation of policies in this area, will the population of older people be getting a fair deal?

Throughout this century older people, those over Governmental retirement ages, 60 for women and 65 for men, have been forming an increasingly larger proportion of the population. The total population has also grown during this time but at a slower rate than has taken place among older people. 'Social Trends' (1987) however, indicates that the total number of older people is not expected to rise in the near future; on the contrary, during 1991 their total numbers are likely to peak and will begin to decrease towards the end of the century. What is significant is the decline in the proportion of younger older people, those under 75, and the rise in the number of the very old, those over 75. This change of emphasis has important consequences for the provision of welfare.

Table of Older People in the United Kingdom.

	Total Population (millions)	Older People (millions)	Older People as % of total
1901	38.2	2.4	6%
1951	50.5	6.9	14%
1981	56.3	10.0	18%
1991 (estimate)	57.2	10.0	17%
2001 ( " )	58.3	9.5	16%

(Social Trends, 1987)

At the same time as the demographic movements have taken place there has been a change in the social position of older people. They are much more insecure. In earlier times old age often brought status and



power within a secure position in the community. Much of this has disappeared in modern western societies (Riley, 1987). Equally the demographic trends can obscure the diversity of the many constituent sub-groups among the elderly population (See discussion in Chapter 11.1). Older people have differing experiences according to their race, class and gender.

Retirement can create social, economic and psychological problems for individuals and, quite often, for households. It indicates a fundamental transition even for those who consider it a new opportunity (Parnes, 1985). Retirement is almost always synchronised with a loss of income. However, as Townsend points out (1979), old age must not be seen as a problem period per se. This view, 'old age as a problem', is endemic among professionals whose training and experience is based purely in a pathological framework.

The social and psychological consequences of retirement vary widely but in a society linked to the centrality of work and technological change a void can appear for older people between what they have to offer and what society demands of them in retirement. These inequalities are perhaps best exemplified by the position of women, for their position is usually more complex than that of men. Paradoxically however, this may reduce the size of the void for women for there appears to be a continuity of roles for men and women between pre and post-retirement because women have lower expectations and achievements in relation to the labour market. Giddens (1990, p599), says, 'Women living alone are on average poorest of all.... For housewives, of course, there is no such thing as retirement, and the presence of a husband in the house during the day may make extra work.'

Society appears to place a high value on youth, vitality and physical attractiveness, all the stereotypical polar opposites of old age. Older people can then become 'invisible' (Unruh, 1983). An appraisal of how older peoples' contributions can be valued more highly seems

necessary. A response from the older people themselves may help in the general level of society's social tolerance.

1988 was an eventful year for Welfare Policy; it saw the publication of two major reports with some over-lapping aspects. The first report was entitled, Community Care: Agenda For Action by Sir Roy Griffiths, (Often referred to throughout the thesis as 'The Griffiths Report'), the whole brief was 'to review the way in which public funds are used to support community care policy and to advise...on the options for action that would improve the use of these funds as a contribution to more effective community care'. The second report, Residential Care A Positive Choice - chaired by Lady Gillian Wagner - aimed to provide an 'independent review of residential care...to make recommendations for any changes required to enable the residential care sector to respond effectively to changing social needs and to make recommendations accordingly.'

There are many commentaries on these reports but perhaps the most useful in terms of its relevance to this Research Programme is that of Trevillion (1988, p65) who says, 'the origins of Griffiths lie not only in the concerns expressed in the Audit Commission report (Making a Reality of Community Care - 1986) but also in the Thatcherite paradigm of "value for money" with its underlying identification of the public sector with "waste" and "inefficiency". The origins of Wagner lie less perhaps, in administrative anomaly than in a long series of "scandals" in residential institutions of all kinds.'

The debates continue around the recommendations of these reports and the reports have themselves both continued to evolve.

Firstly, The Griffiths Report, was expanded and later published as a White Paper, ('Caring for People - Community Care in the next decade and beyond', 1989), eventually becoming the National Health Service and Community Care Act, 1990. However, the precise meaning of the term community care has proved elusive. Kathleen Jones et al (1978, p89) put it well: 'To the politician, 'community care' is a useful piece of

rhetoric; to the sociologist, it is a stick to beat institutional care with; to the civil servant, it is a cheap alternative to institutional care which can be passed to the local authorities for action - or inaction; to the visionary, it is a dream of a new society in which people really do care; to the social service departments it is a nightmare of heightened public expectations and inadequate resources to meet them.'

Of course some of the points remain unanswered by the White Paper (and its subsequent Act), but three of its key objectives are of special interest to this Research Programme:

- (i) 'to make proper assessment of need and good case management the cornerstone of high quality care'.
- (ii) 'to clarify the responsibilities of agencies and so make it easier to hold them to account for their performance'.
- (iii) 'to promote the development of a flourishing independent sector alongside good quality public services'.

The working definition of community care for the purposes of this programme is taken from the White Paper 'Caring for People', (p 9, Para 2.2) and, although lengthy, is quoted in full here:-

'Community care means providing the right level of intervention and support to enable people to achieve maximum independence and control over their own lives'.

The following qualifications then follow on the same page, 'For this aim to become a reality, the development of a wide range of services in a variety of settings is essential. These services form part of a spectrum of care, ranging from domiciliary support provided to people in their own homes, strengthened by the availability of respite care and day care for those with most intensive care needs, through sheltered housing, group homes and hostels where increasing levels of

care are available, to residential care and nursing homes and long-stay hospital care for those for whom other forms of care are no longer enough.'

Secondly, Wagner's findings made many recommendations based on a set of 'Principles' (p114). Two of those 'Principles' are of particular interest to this Research Programme:

- (i) 'Living in a residential establishment should be a positive experience ensuring a better quality of life than the resident could enjoy in any other setting'.
- (ii) 'People who move into a residential establishment should continue to have access to the full range of community support services'.

Some years on from its publication the Wagner Report is struggling to retain its original importance. The responsibility for this is due largely to the resourcing implications of its recommendations; these have not been met. Additionally, the Children Act of 1989 relegates residential provision still further with an increase in parental and children's rights and a diminishing role for residential placements. This may well have a 'knock-on' effect for residential care for older people.

The White Paper, 'Caring for People', however, sets out the Government's proposals for improving community care. Its supporters believe it to be a pioneering and agenda setting piece of Social Policy. It complements the proposals made by its twin White Paper, also published by the Department of Health, 'Working for Patients' (1989), for the management of the hospital and family practitioner services. Taken together, the two white papers set out how the Government believes health and social care and welfare services should develop over the next decade. There are however, fundamental flaws. For example, what does the term 'Community' mean in the present climate of individualism? Or, how is the objective of self-

determination and maximising choice for individuals to be reconciled with taking account of 'the local availability and pattern of services' (Caring for People, para. 3.3.1)? This discussion is developed further in chapter 2 under the sub-heading 'The Griffiths Report'.

It is therefore in an era and atmosphere of rapid change that older people currently live, including changes in the demographic distribution, in personal circumstances, in society's views and in Social Welfare Policies. Older people could be experiencing this change at a variety of levels that may indicate to them a fast shifting world from which they are becoming increasingly detached.

## CHAPTER 1

### Formulating the problem.

Researchers and theorists regularly connect different meanings to the same term or use different terms to mean the same thing. This lack of agreement precludes the assumption that one author's use of a term is the same as another author's, or indeed the same as the reader's. One of the best ways to erase this potential for ambiguity about the meaning of a term is to determine how the author used it in the context of the work. For example, in this research programme the term 'older people' is synonymous with that of 'retired people'. This is an attempt to move away from the adjective status of 'The Elderly' towards the noun status of an 'older person'.

'The function of research is to generate or test theory. Research designed to generate theory seeks to identify a phenomenon, discover its dimensions or characteristics, or specify the relationships between the dimensions. Research designed to test theory seeks to develop evidence about the hypotheses derived from the theory' (Fawcett & Downs, 1986, p4).

The close link between theory and research is implied in the discussion of their functions. The initial impetus for research is the search for theory; theory development relies on research and thus research relies on theory. Brown (1977), identified the relationship between theory and research as a dialectic, a transition whereby theory determines what data are to be collected and research findings provide challenges to accepted theories.

Whether the purpose is theory generation, in which case the phenomenon of interest suggests things to look for, or theory testing, when the theory dictates the data to be collected, research remains the conveyance for theory development.

The aim of this Research Programme then is to pursue this dialectical path and to test the following hypothesis:

'That the impact of current Social Welfare Practices and Policies reduce the life chances and options of working class older people, effectively accomplishing their Social Incarceration.'

Three components of 'Social Incarceration' outside the institutional context will be operationalised:

- (i) Internalising negative views.
- (ii) 'Passively' accepting a minimal role in the community.
- (iii) Being assigned a low status.

However, a broader discussion is important to set the scene. During the 1980's a growing body of social commentators expressed concern about the social consequences of the implementation of key policies by the British government.

The winding down of the Welfare State, Trade Union Law 'Reform', formation of the Poll/Council Tax register (and equally importantly the marginalising of those adults not included on the register), the increasing polarisation between rich and poor and State asset stripping via privatisation (Giddens, 1989, p318; Field, 1989, p15) were all given as examples of how an ever increasing proportion of citizens were being denied their full citizen's rights and powers.

It could be argued that one group of people exemplify this position most accurately in to-day's Capitalist Welfare State, and that is Older People. The evidence for the denial of their full citizenship and rights will now be explored against the backdrop of the 1980's with special consideration given to a critical appraisal of the Government's rhetoric about Community Care during this decade.

The words, 'I've been put here out of circulation', were directed at the researcher during the admission of a man called Bill to a Local Authority Old People's Home in 1984. Both people knew exactly what was meant. For the researcher it both crystallised some thoughts and exemplified them simultaneously. Bill's admission was then the subject of considerable debate and subsequent action with the eventual outcome that he returned to his own home. For the twelve months preceding his admission Bill had been ripe for marginalisation, or, as he termed it, being put 'out of circulation'. This was so on a number of grounds, for example, mental health, physical disabilities, economic considerations, and his retired status. The validity of these labels and assumptions, whether taken individually or collectively remains questionable but the outcome for Bill nevertheless remained the same. It was during the aftermath of Bill's return to his home and Community that he was made acutely aware of the dilemma he was in. He was unsure whether he preferred the imprisonment of 'The Home' or the imprisonment of his home. The metaphor Bill used was that he felt, 'Between the devil and the deep blue sea'.

This scenario indicated to the researcher that the context of the 1980's decade for older people portrayed, both practically and symbolically, its major ambiguity. The change in the direction of care from residential institutions to Community Care may appear at face value a constructive development emanating from good care practice. However, on further analysis it appears to duplicate many of the shortcomings of earlier discredited policies, (eg those that imposed powerlessness and low self-esteem on older people). It is at this point that the underlying symbolism is paramount. This continual and orchestrated attack on people's rights whether at the political, civil or economic level, goes hand in glove with the Government's move away from collective welfare provision, (which itself, admittedly had a number of shortcomings), towards selective individual provision. In order to understand the historical legacy for the 1980's decade it is necessary to explore further Institutional, Economic and Community Care considerations.



Institutional Care is centuries old and has recently, compared with its own life span, received attention from such scholars as Goffman (1961), and Scull (1979). How then, are Institutions perceived? If one subscribes to the view of social reality which stresses the importance of the subjective experience of individuals in the creation of their social world, then their search for understanding focuses upon different issues and also approaches them in different ways. The principal concern is with an understanding of the way in which individuals create, modify and interpret the world in which they find themselves. The effect upon one's consciousness of Governmental attacks on rights and service provision is likely to have a detrimental effect upon self esteem.

Goffman is perhaps the most well known advocate of such a view. His ideas and approaches to the analysis of human interaction clearly have implications for both institutional and non-institutional behaviour. For example, he argues that stigma is closely related to the unconscious expectations and norms which are invisible controlling factors in all social encounters (Goffman, 1963). In *Asylums*, (1961), he suggests one of the most important aspects of such institutions is that whilst the authorities attempt to define the situation for the inmates - through rules, regulations, indoctrination, discipline, etc. - the individuals who live within them 'make out' by adjusting in various ways. They, 'develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable and normal once you get used to it' (1961, p7). Goffman's work focuses upon these adjustment processes, revealing what he calls the 'underlife' of the organisation, the ways in which inmates 'make-out' in an attempt to defend themselves against the onslaught of the system upon their impressions of self.

As Eldridge and Crombie (1974), have noted about Goffman's work, in addition to illuminating the concept of self, his study of 'total institutions' also informs us about the process of social control within them and teaches us generally about life and mechanisms which operate in all formal organisations. However, older people are the possessors of stigma by way of age. This is somewhere in the middle

ground between discrediting and discreditable. As Mathews says (1979, p61), 'old people are assumed by virtue of their age to be physically, and therefore, mentally incapacitated. The stigma theory that age and poor health are synonymous is used to justify a mandatory retirement age, but it also has an effect on everyday interaction'. Older people then, simply because of their advanced age, are more likely to be the targets and recipients of the assumption that they are incapable of performing adequately as adult members of society.

Growing Older (DHSS:1981), brought us into the 1980's and established the ground rules for a substantial reduction of State intervention around the provision of care services and care networks. As Willcocks et al (1987, p21), say in their excellent chapter, 'The Legacy of Past Caring', 'The failure of social democratic promise is complete and the monetarist language of self-help, thrift and responsibility (values attributed to the Victorians) is promulgated in order to encourage old people and their carers alike to buy their welfare in the market place.'

In the market place where goods and services are exchanged, the relationship between provider and customer is cause for serious concern. Private enterprise began to dictate policy within residential care, for example, the Department of Health and Social Security (as it then was) had to impose Benefit payment restraints across the board because over-charging was commonplace in Private Homes. This action was at the behest of the Audit Commission following pressure from the Treasury and not as a response to individual complaints from those in receipt of care. The symbolism of this dynamic is clearly apparent and certainly contrary to the notion of consumer choice and rights.

The advantages and disadvantages of Institutional living are well documented elsewhere (Willcocks et al 1987). However, it should be noted that with the direction of welfare provision during the 1980's being given considerable impetus away from State responsibility, the book 'Home Life : A code of practice for residential care' (1984), was published jointly by the Centre for Policy on Ageing (CPA) and DHSS.

This became an integral part and statement of the Government's measures to regulate the establishment and conduct of residential care homes, used in those caring primarily for older people, and thus providing protection for the residents. The code endeavours to rectify some of the deficiencies within residential provision; however, a contradiction exists as Local Authorities, because of funding difficulties, are unable to carry out the statutory inspection and regulation let alone enforce such guidelines. The market is thus allowed to self regulate which has caused some notorious examples of bad and exploitative practice. By definition some businesses fail and collapse. In practice therefore, it would seem that 'Home Life' has had its limitations, despite the activities of the Social Services Inspectorate.

The predicted growth in the number of old people and particularly of those in the over 85 age group has maintained a steady pressure on resources (Tinker, 1984, p12). These changes have occurred as the rate of residential provision has steadily fallen (Grundy and Arie, 1982), however, private provision in this area expanded in the late 1980's.

It may be asserted that there has been little improvement in residential care for older people (Fisk, 1986; Booth, 1985). Moreover the impact of a range of community care initiatives has contributed to older, physically and mentally frailer and more socially isolated residents who are likely to have been subject to emergency admissions (Bebbington & Tong, 1983). Staffing, including recruitment levels, training and retention, has not been able to offset the effects of increased demands. Kelly suggests (1987, p61), 'Added to this, substantial changes have occurred in the distribution of residential provision between Local Authorities and the private and voluntary sectors.' The same can be said about the provision of Health Services.

In the early 1980's the Government was still developing its policies for residential homes quite separately from its policies for community orientated provision. It thus perpetuated the myth that community care is simply represented as activity outside the walls of the institution

(Contrary to the wishes of the Wagner Report), while life within the institution is perceived as being beyond the boundaries of community care. However, in the second half of the decade the political shift was complete, prompted of course by the need for economic restraint, away from statutory services as providers of care, in favour of a model whereby statutory services support and enhance the caring capacity of the voluntary and private sector. The enigmatic Sir Roy Griffiths addresses this head-on when discussing 'care managers' (Community Care - An Agenda for Action, 1988, p16). The essence of this may be better represented by the term 'Service Brokers', perhaps implying a trafficking of services. Griffiths suggested finance should be channelled to Local Authorities for onward distribution - which is in direct conflict with the Government's political aim of reducing L/A's influence - nevertheless, the ideology of the market place pervades the whole report. However, it appears that it is a case of the ideological tail wagging the practice delivery dog (See chap 2 for fuller discussion).

The omnipotence of economic considerations appears clearly. It can be said that much of the public debate concerning residential care during the mid-eighties tended to concentrate on issues of cost-efficiency, as exemplified by the work of the Audit Commission (1985). Much less concern and debate was aimed at the more potentially problematic area of effectiveness. Why economic issues dictate such an agenda is worthy of further exploration.

As Bornat et al (1985, p9) say, 'Many of the more distressing features of later life are socially constructed: they exist because people live in a capitalist society which fails to provide either adequate resources or a vision of imaginative lifestyles in old age'. They further add that there appears to be a political and ideological attack upon the legitimacy of older peoples' claim to state support. Additionally (p11), it appears that race, class and gender are important factors influencing the type of resources which people can retain in their retirement.

Alison Norman's concern about funding (1985, p129) for older members of minority communities appears even more relevant today. She said then, 'where should the money come from? On what criteria should it be provided? How should its use be monitored and controlled? At present no authority is addressing these questions in any systematic or ordered kind of way and the whole grant giving scene is becoming more confused and inequitable by the minute'. This highlights another contradiction between political ideology and service delivery in that the government advocate local initiatives (eg groups run by volunteers) but then cap L/A's Poll/Council Tax levels and thus make it impossible for them to offer Section 11 Funding (Note 1) or other funding initiatives at a local level.

'The relationship of retirement and old age with financial hardship is a common one and a fundamental contributory factor to the low expectations held about retirement' (Phillipson, 1982, p9). Thankfully the removal of the workhouse system occurred many years prior to 1980. However, there still remains striking similarities between those who entered the workhouse and those below the poverty line (Note 2) in the 1980's, for example, inequalities of class and gender still abound. In the early 1990's there are still marked contrasts in the experiences of working class and middle class retired people. The older middle class people have control over property and savings and an increasing proportion have a good occupational pension enabling them to live well above the State minimum. Even at advanced old age they are more likely to end their days in superior homes or health settings thus escaping the effects of discrimination by the State against older people. The working class however, have a very different experience. For them, the absence of savings and a reasonable occupational pension means dependency both upon State provision and State definitions of what constitutes an acceptable old age, including its corresponding erosion of rights for the individual. In Thatcherite (Note 3) language this may be understood as exclusion from the market place.

This inequitable position somehow appears to legitimise a transfer of responsibilities from the State to individuals. Throughout this

process, the class basis of policies relating to older people increases the inequalities (See chap 14 for 'Underclass' discussion).

To be economically deprived is not just to be without the desirable consumer goods in a society which places a high value on material possessions and defines the worth of individuals in terms of their earning capacity. Nor is it only to be unable to achieve economic independence by making one's own life without the constraints and the anxiety of financial dependence. A position of economic vulnerability leaves one open to exploitation, self-degradation and the potentially burdensome sense of shame and inadequacy. As Salmon says (1985, p20), 'If we look at things in this way, the treatment of people according to their age begins to assume a political dimension of meaning. In our society, the politics of age render some life phases more rewarding, more powerful, more prestigious than others'. This observation view of hers can be seen as a product, not of personal limitations, but much more explicitly of societal oppression.

Where does Community Care fit into the puzzle then? As Howe suggests (1987, p154), 'A ruse adopted by governments is to champion the notion of community care. It sounds wholesome, it has that rosy ring of nostalgia, and yet it is an illusion'. What this really means is family care and family care means care by women, normally the ageing daughters of very old parents; the implications for anti-sexism are stark. Of course as far as its conservative proponents are concerned it will be a cheaper system of welfare provision. Phillipson (1982, p49) believes, 'Community care under these terms is a cheap option', and further adds, 'but one which in many cases is rooted in stress and moral blackmail of the most insidious type'.

Scull, in 'Decarceration' as far back as 1977, exposed gross inadequacies in this movement, which he later reconsidered and modified. However, his analysis showed then that in practice 'reform' had little similarity to liberal rhetoric on the subject. He also argued that the real reason behind such a shift is the State's urgent need to cut the costs of social control, and its growing ability to

carry this through as welfare provision in the community when it becomes a substitute for institutionalisation. The debating of this issue then, appears well rehearsed!

The change of direction from residential to community care is now becoming clearer as a deliberately orchestrated and cynical move to save money, but is also clarifying other hitherto covert intentions of this Government. Firstly, interwoven throughout this is the move from collective welfare provision provided by the State to fragmented and isolated 'services' being provided for people who are themselves fragmented and isolated within their own communities. Secondly, and perhaps more sinister and insidious, is the worrying aspect of this political shift in policy, that of social control.

Dominelli (1988, p47), has a similar view, 'The principle of "lesser eligibility" aiming to keep benefit levels low so as not to jeopardise the position of those in low paid work, was central to curtailing the costs of the welfare state and limiting the numbers of claimants seeking recourse to its provisions. This made social control, or the means whereby people are kept in their place and are reluctant to make full use of their right to benefit, a key feature of the welfare state'.

This is perhaps the Achilles heel of the 1979-90 era of Thatcherite welfare provision - their internal wrangle over social control - best exemplified by 'The Griffiths Report' being put temporarily on the back burner. It neither satisfied the Right because of the significance of the role attributed to L/A's nor the 'Wets' because it fell short of being relevant to the social conditions and required service provision in 1988. Omissions include the absence of any discussion of racism, (Six lines refer to a multi-racial society, p26, Para 8.9), or of the problems of inner cities and of essential infrastructure provision to implement the recommendations of the Report.

Some similarities do exist however, between Institutional and Community Care. 'Some older people either fail to develop or lose contact with networks, so isolation and loneliness have received considerable attention' says Clare Wenger (1984, p17). Both isolation (Palmore, 1976) and loneliness (Hazan, 1980) have been linked with demand for institutional provision. It therefore seems somewhat paradoxical that some people in the community are faced with the same issues (Fisk, 1986; Booth, 1985). If people again remain in the community under the guise of being in receipt of community care, the position as highlighted by Wenger (ie isolation and loneliness) continues to remain problematic. Therefore the efficacy of the premise that community care is preferred to residential care can be argued to be a faulty premise. People have to make informed choice for themselves. It also gives another complete rotation to the government's welfare provision merry-go-round. As a result de-institutionalisation for most means a transfer from a tangible State provision to an intangible one in the community.

As Scull (1983, p158) says, 'Ironically, the casual dumping of the disorientated and the senile has been made easier by the fact that the measures designed to dispose of them are ostensibly undertaken from a benevolent and humanitarian concern for their welfare'. This expansion of the population dealt with through non-institutional means of 'care' has not been matched by the development of a satisfactory infrastructure capable of providing the required service which is the mirror image of the paucity of resources aimed at State residential care.

The social control similarity is perhaps best portrayed by Mathiesen (in Garland, 1983), when he explored the decamping of the Norwegian prison population and identified a paradox: the control of whole groups and categories of people, a form of control with prison like features diffusing into the outside society, such as the surveillance of these groups in the community. Foucault (1975), makes a similar point. Control of these people whether inside or outside the institution still retains its panoptican and restrictive features.



As the earlier example of Bill demonstrated, the confirmation of the ambiguous and invidious journey from institutional incarceration to community incarceration was underway early in the 1980's. The title of a work by Cooper (1989, p177), 'From Casework to Community Care: "The End Is Where We Start From" (T.S. Eliot)', captures this rather imaginatively. This identified process is likely to become much more common place in the 1990's.

In the late 1980's, the debate seems to have moved on and now appears to be about social control and the corresponding implications for a large marginalised group, that of ten million older people. These marginalisation and social control issues will be more fully explored later in the Research Programme, within the Community Care context, at the policy analysis and discussion stage in Part IV of the thesis.

#### Note 1

Under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 the government offered to pay 75% of the salaries of local authority staff who were employed to meet the special needs of Commonwealth immigrants in areas where they are highly concentrated.

#### Note 2

The poverty line in this context, is where people are living in circumstances in or on the margins of poverty, as indicated by the supplementary benefit level (as it then was). The poverty line therefore acts as an 'official' or social standard of poverty.

#### Note 3

The term 'Thatcherite' has continued to evolve throughout the lifetime of the research programme and especially since Mrs Thatcher's resignation in December, 1990. In Part IV of the programme it receives fuller attention, including various definitions.

## CHAPTER 2

### Bibliographic Review

The main purpose of this Review is to establish a new area of study for the programme and to review the most relevant literature. However, a continual flow of further literature, some of which has been based on research data, has been produced since the outset of the programme. This has become an integral part of the thesis - following debates/policy shifts around community care - therefore, the more recent literature is included in the later parts of the thesis, particularly in Part IV.

The main emphasis of this Review will be upon Community Care in the 1980's as other relevant areas have been dealt with elsewhere (See 'Formulating the Problem' Chapter 1, and 'Theoretical Position and Perspective' Chapter 3). The preparation of the bibliographic review highlighted the need for an updated chronology and aetiology leading to the NHS and Community Care Act, 1990, (See App 9).

The subject of Community Care seems problematic enough on its own. Higgins says, for example (1989, p11), 'that the concept of community care, for analytical purposes is often vague, sentimental and unhelpful and there are as many definitions to community and community care as there are writers on the subject.'

At times however, it is not possible to disentangle other associated areas and overlapping issues. For example, the move towards European integration and the position of older people, particularly older women who are poor, are both relevant to community care.

The 'shifting sands' nature of policy development throughout the period of the Research Programme has had a dual effect. Firstly, it has kept the subject at the top of the agenda in social policy circles, while ensuring the breadth and quantity of the debate has often been in response to and in the wake of policy implementation.

Secondly, this has had the effect of obscuring some issues with the debate sometimes lacking in quality, especially in the two chambers in the Houses of Parliament.

However, a well known social gerontologist puts the subject into perspective. 'Few people in the field will be offended if I describe social gerontology as being young and somewhat immature. I hesitate to call it adolescent or even pubertal, for fear of being placed in paradigms I wish to criticise, but as our concerns are with ageing a temporal/social analogy seems fitting' (Johnson, 1978). The breadth of Ageing as a subject should not only be confined to older people, it refers to all age-groups (ESRC 1989).

Research concerning retired people has serious limitations and omissions (Tinker, 1984). Fennell et al say (1988, p79), 'a persistent battle has to be waged against the tendency to marginalise elderly people and let issues of importance to them slip off the research agendas.' Registers of research still support this view indicating an inductive obsession with service provision, pathology and service allocation, thus by-passing older people themselves. Apart from the lack of quality of research concerning older people there has also been an absence of quantity. (Note 1). Or as Fennell et al add (1988, p42), 'Much more characteristic of British research is the lack of attention to theory of any kind. The descriptive (and prescriptive) focus of research is brought out ... they largely ignore theoretical issues about their subject matter; or, to be more accurate, they tend to assume a theoretical position, without testing it to make it clear to the reader'.

Exceptions are few and include 'Living in Homes, Private Lives in Public Places' (Willcocks et al, 1987), 'Sixty Years On' (Ford & Sinclair, 1987), 'Capitalism and the Construction of Old Age' (Phillipson, 1982), and 'Ageing and Social Policy' (Phillipson & Walker ed., 1986). They are in the tradition of Townsend (1962 and later), of setting their data against a sociological framework and drawing conclusions. They proceeded simultaneously in an inductive and

deductive fashion, a style this Research Programme attempts modestly to emulate.

Many retired working class people have internalised negative views of themselves with their consciousness being influenced as a result (Leonard, 1984). For example, exclusion from work means exclusion from many things: a structure for daily existence, a recognisable social identity, a high self esteem, companionship and solidarity with other workers; it also means economic deprivation in a society that places a high value on material possessions and defines the worth of individuals in terms of their earning capacity.

If this analysis is accepted the treatment of older people according to their age begins to have a political dimension of meaning. The present change of emphasis from welfare provision to family responsibility as personified by 'The Griffiths Report' and 'Caring for People' is constantly debated (eg Lewis, 1989, p83-96). In this society the politics of age suggest some life phases are more rewarding, more powerful, more prestigious than others. As Salmon says (1985), 'From this point of view, the contempt - however kindly - that is generally accorded to the old and the young, can be seen as a product, not of their personal limitations, but of society's oppression'. Salmon continues, 'As things are now, most old people in our society probably live somewhere between two sorts of existence. It is likely to be their health, as well as their family and housing situation, and their economic resources which are critical in determining which of the two they experience'.

Robertson says (1988, p222), 'The development of those rather loose entities we call "welfare states" has been a major feature of life in the capitalist democracies of Western Europe since 1945.' But what is the form of the welfare state in the 1990's?

'Prolonged restraint leads to some non-incremental allocations in the most restrained Social Service Departments (SSDs). These non-incremental shifts in expenditure can be clearly linked to the pursuit

of the community care strategy within state provided services for children and the elderly' suggests Kelly (1989, p208). Maclean (1989, p39), when discussing (in the context of the Audit Commission Report, 1985), high spending Local Authorities says, 'Such authorities were encouraged to "focus a reduced amount of community services so that additional support from friends and relatives can be mobilised". In other words, actually removing supportive services ought to impel lazy or neglectful families to fill the void'. This is an appropriate juncture to examine 'The Griffiths Report' in more detail as this point exemplifies one of the many issues it raises.

### The Griffiths Report

The concept of community care for people who require support has underpinned social policy for a number of years as 'Older People and Community Care - A brief chronology' (App 8) indicates.

Since the introduction of the Seebohm Report (1968), and the division between health and welfare in the early 1970's, local authorities (L/A's) were being left to make instrumental decisions regarding practical arrangements for people requiring support who lived in the community. In the early 1970's the focus of input was on services rather than clients.

It appears that L/A's have since tried to guard this autonomy and have attempted to rebuff efforts from central government as to how they ought to earmark or spend their rate support grants (Hunter and Wistow, 1987). Important elements surrounding joint funding arrangements and collaboration between health and L/A's were still far from being achieved.

Meanwhile the overall shift towards community care was still being hampered and a considerable sense of frustration and lack of progress set in with regard to the development and implementation of policies over the previous years. Two important and comprehensive Audit Commission Reports of 1985 and 1986 (See App 8 - Chronology for more

details of contents) suggested to the government that there was a need to streamline community care matters at several levels, not least, financially. Henwood et al (1991, p5) usefully summarised these problems as 'Mismatched resources... Lack of bridging finance... Perverse effects of social security policies... Organisational fragmentation and confusion... Inadequate staffing arrangements'.

The Reports made several points that Sir Roy Griffiths was to later reinforce in 1988, but he was brought in by the government in December 1986 to undertake a review of community care policy as a response to the two Audit Commission Reports.

The precise terms of reference given to Sir Roy by the then Secretary of State for Health Norman Fowler were:-

'To review the way in which public funds are used to support community care policy and to advise me on the options for action that would improve the use of these funds as a contribution to more effective community care' (Para 2.1, Community Care: Agenda For Action, 1988).

This review of The Griffiths Report here is orientated towards the issues that it raises, including some of the tensions, that are of significance to this programme. It is also acknowledged that some of these issues are still developing throughout the life of this research programme and doubtless will beyond it.

The core of The Griffiths Report is in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. In Chapter 3 the Report discusses the role of the state and the proposals take as their starting point that 'Families, friends, neighbours and other local people provide the majority of care in response to needs which they are uniquely well placed to identify and respond to. This will continue to be the primary means by which people are enabled to live normal lives in community settings' (Para 3.2). It sees the first task of publicly provided services is to 'support and where possible strengthen these networks of carers' (Also Para 3.2). The proposals aim to further stimulate the further development of the 'mixed

economy' of care and that social services see themselves as the arrangers and purchasers of care services and not as monopolistic providers (3.4). This point is developed later in the summary of proposals for action 'act for these purposes as the designers, organisers and purchasers of non-health care services, and not primarily as direct providers, making maximum possible use of voluntary sector bodies to widen consumer choice, stimulate innovation and encourage efficiency' (Para 1.3.4). It also highlights the need for assessment and identifies that gaps may exist between resources and need (3.7).

In Chapter 4 the question of responsibilities for community care is examined. Families, the private and voluntary sectors and Health Authorities among others, all have a role to play. But for 'needs assessment, planning and delivery of services to be achieved', the way in which money is currently spent on community care does not enable a comprehensive approach (4.17).

In 'Chapter 5: Strategic Options', much is made of the organisation, management and financial arrangements. Here there is a proposal to switch financial responsibility for community care to L/A's from both social security and health authorities and the transferred funds are earmarked for their intended destination (Para 5.13).

The above points are all integrated into the 'Recommendations' where the role of 'care manager' is discussed in terms of being a member of the social services authority's staff to 'oversee the assessment and re-assessment function and manage the resulting action' (Para 6.6).

New legislation is recommended to implement some of the proposals (7.2) and the new occupation of 'community carer' is also pondered (8.4).

The tone of the 'Summary of proposals for action' is rather market/business orientated and is littered with the newer language of welfare provision. It includes terms such as 'objectives',

'priorities', 'assess individuals' needs', 'packages of care' and 'joint financing' (Chapter 1 of the Report).

Some areas such as levels of funding were not commented upon directly but were tackled from the perspective of better management of existing resources. Instead of considering re-organisation of the central departments concerned, Sir Roy tried to clarify the responsibilities and accountability instead. To those ends he recommended the appointment of a Minister within the DHSS (As it then was), to be responsible for community care. The Minister would monitor implementation of care plans by L/A's ensuring that local plans took account of all partners involved in caring including voluntary groups and informal carers. Collaborative plans would also become a condition for earmarked budgets and an increase in evaluation would demonstrate the cost effective use of resources. It is outside the scope of this thesis to explore other major areas which Sir Roy addressed such as separate client groups but private residential care funded by social security is discussed again in chapters 13 and 14.

After some delay the Report was published in the March of 1988. By November, 1989, many of its principles had become integrated as 'Key Objectives' and 'Key Changes' in the 'Caring for People' White Paper. Keeping the responsibility for community care near the individuals and their carers remained a constant theme both in the 'Griffiths Report' and in 'Caring for People'. The language remained very similar too with 'assessment', 'case management', 'enabling' and 'packages of care' all being to the fore in the Key Objectives (Para 1.11). Under Key Changes 'collaboration', 'publish clear plans' and 'maximum use of the independent sector' are foremost (Para 1.12).

Promotion of individual choice and independence are central objectives of the white paper proposals (Para 1.8), while at the same time it emphasises targeting resources on those most in need, highlighting that decisions on service provision 'will have to take account of what is available and affordable' (Para 3.2.12). It appears there is a contradiction between maximising choice for individuals and their



carers while adhering to the restrictions placed on levels of service provision: 'the local availability and pattern of services' (Para 3.3.1). This will be difficult for L/A's to resolve.

The roles of assessment and case management are both going to be encountering this contradiction because a proper assessment and needs led service cannot have resourcing restrictions determining the outcome. This idealist stance will clearly give way to pragmatic practice considerations at a local level but it remains an inherent problem with two such crucial components of the overall strategy for community care. The assessment and case manager roles may well have to be separated to prevent a conflict of interest between need and resources.

Implicit in Griffiths terms of reference, in addition to the explicit connections with the two Audit Commission Reports, are what Trevillion says are the terms from the Thatcherite paradigm "value for money" with its underlying identification of public sector with "waste" and "inefficiency" (1988, p65). Further to the previous reference to this point in the introduction to Part 1 of the thesis, in a social policy discussion, here it strongly influences and supports an ideological shift in who does the caring (eg voluntary/private sectors). What is being proposed by Griffiths is the restructuring of the welfare state and a shift away from welfare pluralism (This is developed further in chapters 13 and 14 of this thesis).

What other implications arise from the Griffiths Report? Taking the example of Social Service Departments, their role will clearly change to that of an enabling one; some of their social workers will become case managers and others assessment officers. Managerial and systems reform, especially in the purchaser/provider context, will have to take place. This is by no means an exhaustive list in relation to SSD's. Therefore, Sir Roy's proposals on improved targeting and an increase in choice towards the achievement of community care will have repercussions throughout all service provisions.

One of the fundamental ideological problems with the 'Griffiths Report' which will make it difficult to achieve, is that it has L/A's playing a collaborative role with a range of private sector providers. Questions of efficiency and collaboration may well be resolved through effective case management but the issue of resource allocation remains more problematic. Services may become more efficient but costs could rise through the identification of individual needs and the matching of the appropriate resources to meet those needs.

However, clearly the full implications of the Griffiths Report are still being felt but some of its effects are far reaching and irrevocable. Many aspects are now enshrined in The NHS and Community Care Act, 1990, as many discussions (eg in chap 3 and 13) of this thesis demonstrates.

Even when attempting to move on from the 'Griffiths Report' its issues and influence appear pervasive. The work of Kelly and McClean, somewhat ironically in the context of the 'Griffiths Report', provide evidence that suggests the 'welfare state' is in a liquid form that is ripe for being massaged at any time to suit the political ends of those in State Governmental power. A current example is the privatisation of some welfare provision with the explicit assumption that 'the logic of the market' provides salient resources and services (Pulkingham, 1989). Additionally the perception of a 'problem' influences responses. There has been increasing concern about the financial consequences of an increasing number of older people dependent on a relatively decreasing working population, Falkingham argues that this is not so clear cut and is a too simplistic form of analysis based on certain ideological assumptions (Falkingham, 1989, p211-233).

Unruh's material (1983), considers the social worlds of old people and suggests a scale exists upon which positions of people within their social worlds can be identified. Men and women can have despairingly differing experiences, weighted in the favour of men (Wagner, 1988, p249; Caring for Carers - A Nationwide Survey, Crossroads Care

Association, May 1990; Finch, 1984; Community Care: Carers, 5th Report, Social Services Select Committee, 1990). However, the question of finance and funding remains of vital importance (Community Care: Choice for Service Users, 6th Report, Social Services Select Committee, 1990).

Although there were many influences upon community care during the 1980's decade (eg. Growing Older, 1981; Audit Commission, 1985) there still remains widespread debate about which agency or agencies will deliver the services. Although the framework was given by Roy Griffiths the operationalisation of such a proposal by L/A's is proving more problematic.

Community Care may have become a widely used term but it took many years for a version to be defined in Community Care legislation of 1990. As Bulmer says (1987, p82), 'The challenge has simply been avoided....there is a tendency to focus on the form rather than the substance of provision.... by trying to improve co-ordination between services.... rather than putting more resources into domiciliary care'. These were some of the sentiments expressed by Roy Griffiths in his 1988 Report (p iv), 'a feeling that community care is a poor relation; everybody's distant relative but nobody's baby'.

The work of Davies and Challis, which was initially based in Kent (Matching Resources to Needs in Community Care, 1986), considered 'flexible packages of care' which enhanced care at home for older people. They established that existing service provision did fail frail people and that social work with elderly people did have a tendency to be relegated to the lower end of client priority. Although the Kent form of community care was operating prior to the legislation, it acted very much as a formative pilot scheme to the Act. Davies and Challis argued that Community Care however, could overcome the existing deficiencies, but their approach seemed overly concerned with the service provider.

A further work from Davies and Challis (Case Management in Community Care, 1987), was aimed at the professionals working in the field of community care, it was similarly aimed at the service provider. Challis et al (1987), in an urban experiment with community care in Gateshead, for comparison with the Kent Scheme, carried out practice based analyses of service provision. The study failed to explore fully the wider social impact of community care upon older people's experiences, consequently it stopped short of any theoretical implications of such experiences.

Davies produced a paper 'Equity and Efficiency in Community Care: Supply and Financing in an Age of Fiscal Austerity' (1987), which was in keeping with the dominant political sentiments of the time. The tone of the title was influential in accepting a new type of language into welfare.

Dimond (1984) evaluated a community care initiative for the rural elderly in Anglesey and found that with extra resources frail and dependent older people could be maintained in their homes. This delayed admissions to residential care, but enhanced resources were a pre-requisite of such a scheme.

In Southern Italy Bonanno and Calasanti (1986), developed a politically economic view of the status of the rural elderly where the older and smaller farmers were becoming surplus to the labour market. Within that context, rurality assumed a permanent posture as the aged farmers were maintained at the margins of the labour market and eventually expelled (Note 2).

A research programme that investigated the perceptions of community care from the perspective of informal carers (Henderson, 1988), found that gender sympathetic policies were required if a concept of caring was to be formed from the synthesis of the social psychology and social policy paradigms. This study however, was not just from the perspective of the older people who would have been in receipt of the service provided.

Perhaps the study that is closest in spirit to this one, although not specifically from the community care perspective, explored the deprivation of elderly people in Norfolk. Gibbens (1986) combined ageing, deprivation and rurality and established that older people were deprived in relation to younger people in terms of income, styles of living, housing, health accessibility and social contact. Gibbens found that levels of deprivation increased the more rural the area.

There can be little doubt that ageing and related issues are a feature of social change. This area of social change still does not receive its due pro rata attention from social theorists, therefore it is possible to conclude that it has been seriously neglected by sociological enquiry and theory formation.

Connecting the evolving dynamics and experiences of 'Griffiths/Caring for People/NHS and Community Care Act' through the eyes of older people themselves and setting that against the ideology underpinning such political action is the path this Research Programme undertakes from a critical perspective. The subsequent data are then discussed in the context of emerging trends, theories or issues. Links with other sociological theories are then made.

Hitherto, this process, including the intention to make theoretical connections, does not appear to have occurred previously, therefore the outcome will provide a unique contribution to the field of Social Gerontology.

A well known cautionary but eloquent note from Richard Titmuss (1968, p4) which had a strong element of prophecy about it brings the Review to an end:

'What some hope will one day exist is suddenly thought by many to exist already. All kinds of wild and unlovely weeds are changed, by statutory magic and comforting appellation, into the most attractive flowers that bloom not just in the Spring, but all the year round. . . . And what of the everlasting cottage-garden trailer,

'community care'? Does it not conjure up a sense of warmth and human kindness, essentially personal and comforting, as loving as the wild flowers so enchantingly described by Lawrence in Lady Chatterley's Lover?

Note 1

The British Library Board in their 'Current Research In Britain' lists 33 references for Gerontology (4th edition, 1989, p354). In 1985 it was not in the 'Study Area' index.

Note 2

The study of older people is increasing beyond Britain see:  
Illsley and Jamieson, 1989, Comparisons of health and social services in the EEC 1985-1989, EEC.

Centre for Policy on Ageing, 1989, World Directory on Old Age, Longman.

Hayes et al (eds), 1986, European-American Elderly: A Guide for Practice, Springer Publishing.

### CHAPTER 3

#### Theoretical Position and Perspective.

'In general, we can say that gerontologists have been happier to describe the activities and lifestyles of older people, rather than consider causal linkages between ageing and the social, political and economic structure' Estes (1979, p81). This debate is continued elsewhere when some common difficulties are being discussed in pursuance of 'Towards a sociology of old age', by Fennell et al (1988, p6). They categorise these risks as firstly, the risk of 'welfarizing' the group under study. Secondly, they identify the tendency to approach the study of old age only in terms of problems and needs - the pathology model. Finally, there is the 'thing' status of 'the elderly', continually referring to older people as 'them'. Influential studies (Wenger, 1984; Booth, 1985; Abrams, 1978 & 1980), have largely ignored theoretical issues about their data or as Fennell says (1988, p42), 'they tend to assume a theoretical position, without testing it to make it clear to the reader'. There are of course some notable and formative exceptions (eg Townsend, 1962; Phillipson, 1982). However, these investigations for causal issues are firmly connected to individual older people, as will be seen. Apart from representing three qualitatively well defined types of human being, it seems that there are no primary distinctions between young, adult and old people. Under organised scrutiny much the same conclusion can be made when considering 'deviant' and 'normal' people. As Salmon says, 'Where divergences exist, these seem to be complex and subtle processes of social negotiation. These processes are themselves anchored in shared beliefs about the meaning of certain factors in human life' (1985, p77).

What may trigger these stigmatising and/or normal processes? As Goffman says (1963, p164), 'although it can be argued that the stigma process seems to have a general social function - that of enlisting support for society among those who are not supported by it - and to that degree presumably are resistant to change, it must be said that

additional functions seem to be involved which vary markedly according to type of stigma', for example, and within the context of social control he adds, 'the stigmatisation of those in certain racial, religious and ethnic groups has apparently functioned as a means of removing these minorities from various avenues of competition' (p165).

Unruh, (1983) when discussing the social integration of people into modern society considers some personal factors which illuminate and help us better understand a part of people's lives generally, (eg focus their attention, derivation of their identities and formal memberships). Unruh (p15) argues that the role of communication in binding social actors together has not received widespread recognition. He identifies a concept of 'invisible lives' and suggests, 'the lives of people in this form of social organisation are indeed invisible. Integration into social worlds is invisible also because the activities, processes and actions that link people together often are not performed publicly'. Unruh makes his case about 'invisible lives' regarding older people within the context of 'problem populations'. Whilst there is not room here for the discussion about the traits and factors which furnish him with evidence for such a conclusion, the general thrust of his premise appears of interest to this Research Programme.

Leonard (1984), when discussing large and growing minorities as being outside the mainstream of capitalist production activity and/or social reproduction activity, suggests that old people, together with other groups, experience an involuntary marginality. This is set against his earlier discussion about 'contradictory consciousness and adult personality'. He argues that 'Avoidance, resistance and dissent are everywhere to be seen in the lives of individuals', adding 'The fact that the state and capital may strive to pathologise these resistances as resulting from "individual problems" is eloquent testimony to the potential danger they might present if they were to be politicised into collective class struggle' (p181).



It appears then from this perspective that whether individual or collective resistance is displayed against capitalist modes of production and its associated ideology, the confrontation process alone appears to create the circumstances under which individual or collective action is ripe for marginalisation. Spitzer (1975), when discussing influences upon the relationship between problem populations and the control systems, from a Marxian theoretical perspective, outlines seven factors. In one of these, 'The Utility of Problem Populations', he acknowledges that these populations are defined in terms of their threat and costs to capitalist relations of production. Under certain conditions capitalist societies derive benefits from what Spitzer (p645) calls 'a number of visible and uncontrolled troublemakers. They can be exploited through the labour market, politically, as evidence of the need for state intervention or ideologically, as scapegoats for rising discontent. Controlling policies are not so much to eliminate or actively suppress these groups but to deflect their threat away from targets which are sacred to the capitalist class.'

The community care emphasis of the Griffiths Report is a good candidate here although of course political economy analysts (see for example Guillemard, 1986) have developed alternative arguments challenging the perception that population change is a major cause of the state's fiscal crisis. Estes says (1986, p13), 'Blaming older people is seen as a means of obscuring the origins of problems which stem from the capitalist economic system and the subsequent political choices that are made'. Within this, victimisation is permitted and even encouraged, as long as the victims are members of an expendable class, as Dominelli suggests (1988).

The emergence of state capitalism is continuing to define both old and young as economically superfluous. The growing of political and economic spheres causes social control functions to be increasingly transferred from, as Spitzer says (p647), 'the organs of civil society to the organs of the political society (the state)'. This transfer allows the state to make a more direct and extensive role in the

management of problem populations. Again the Griffiths Report exemplifies this by giving a central role to the suggested creation of a Minister of Community Care (p23; 7.2). The trite sentence in the conclusion, (p28). 'The opportunity exists to create a partnership in the delivery - between central and local government,' - now has a curious meaning: The present Government does not have a relationship of this type - this implies a two way process! In practice this Government dominates the 'partnership' and imposes its views from the macro state.

Spitzer (p645) goes on to identify two constituent groups that are established through the operation of official control. Firstly, 'social junk' (a relatively harmless burden to society; - the discredibility of social junk resides in the failure, inability or refusal of this group to participate in the roles supportive of society), in which group he includes older people who are usually responded to by the welfare state. People de-camped from some of the large Psychiatric Hospitals would be an example. Secondly, 'social dynamite' (this has potential to call into question established relations of production and domination; generally, hitherto, social dynamite has tended to be more youthful, alienated and politically volatile than social junk), which is normally responded to by rapid active intervention through the legal system. People involved in the Inner City riots of 1981 may be an example here.

Kuhn (1985, p50), uses the experience of the American Grey Panthers movement to outline some of the struggles older people undergo in their society.

Where does the political left sit in relation to community care and social control? Lewis suggests (1989, p84), 'while many on the political left would continue to support the principle of community care as an essentially humane policy, it must be recognised that as presently constituted its main prop - unpaid family care by women - together with the developing trend towards more mixed and socially stratified provision, accord well with the aims and objectives of the

Thatcher Government.' It appears then that community care may be ripe to become a two-tier system based on the ability to pay, those who can pay for care and enter the service provision market, and those who cannot who will have to rely on their family and/or some form of relegated provision from the state. There are divisive dangers inherent in such a path.

Elsewhere, as Townsend has said (1986) it is essential to advance an account of the 'structured dependency' position of older people in response to 'acquiescent functionalism' which (p19), 'legitimises ageism in practice in contemporary society....legitimises the exclusion of elderly people from the labour market and from significant alternative roles....[and].. incomes for the elderly at levels well below the employment of the low paid.' These ageist attitudes are equally as pervasive and discriminating as those in other areas, -(eg sexism, racism). Ageism is continuing to be institutionalised in modern society (Townsend, 1986, p15).

Smith (1989, p108), captures this confrontative and almost crusading approach well when drawing upon Phillipson and Walker's work (1986). 'It is the issue of gerontology's 'missionary zeal'; that is, what some writers have described as 'the anger we feel at the current attacks on the living standards of older people and the ageism it breeds' - the commitment 'not just to understand the social construction of ageing but to change it' (p12).

It is then from this perspective and theoretical position, and in the spirit of 'missionary zeal', that this Research Programme is being undertaken.

## CHAPTER 4

### Methodological Considerations

It appears that it is during the course of interactions between people that situations become defined and social reality takes on its meaning. People act purposefully but perhaps they act on the basis of what they believe to be the case. The experiences of people have to be understood and the subjective meaning of their actions appreciated. The researcher in this programme is primarily interested in getting inside the respondent's world and looking out and not remaining on the outside and simply looking in. As Howe says (1987, p101), 'Meanings are generated within particular social contexts, such as a marriage, the family, the school, and the legal process. We also learn to recognise and understand ourselves in these intimate social settings. Our reality is therefore socially constructed'. The views of people have to be sought and understood; if the construction is shifted the meaning is altered and if the meaning is altered so is the experience.

Before considering the theoretical basis of qualitative methodology it is worth acknowledging that an analogy has been made between certain qualitative methods and the techniques of natural science. As Blumer says (1969, p34), in a discussion about the position of symbolic interactionism: 'what is needed is to gain empirical validation of the premises, the problems, the data and their lines of connection, the concepts and the interpretations involved in the act of scientific enquiry. The road to such empirical validation.....lies in the direct examination of the empirical social world.....which is exemplified among the grand figures of natural sciences by Charles Darwin. It was not a "soft" study merely because it does not use quantitative procedure nor follow a pre-mapped scientific protocol. That it is demanding in a genuinely rigorous sense can be seen in the analysis of it to fundamental parts... "exploration" and "inspection".'

The natural world and the social world are fundamentally different, and so it is necessary to discover the actors' perceptions of events

and to ask how these relate to their behaviour if they are to be understood. To perceive the meanings 'conferred upon social events by interacting individuals, you must first interpret what is going on from the social context in which these events occur' (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979, p8). Mental and social processes of a person can be known only from the inside therefore for the researcher to know and understand people as subjects and be close to the data creation the researcher has to 'get inside'. Meaning is given by context. The making sense, significance and the finding of meaning for the data created will rest upon evolving a structure in the data. The analysis of the qualitative data as Jones says, (1985, p56) 'involves processes of interpretation and creativity that are difficult and perhaps somewhat threatening to make explicit'.

The most common variables used in social research include: age, sex, marital status, occupation, family and household size and composition, education, income, place of birth, housing, leisure activities, social class, religion and politics (Burgess, 1986, p4). Among the major issues involved in the use of concepts and variables in social investigations is the way in which concepts are translated into variables so that a series of empirical indicators, measuring instruments or scales can be developed. The key issue here involves the way in which concepts can be operationalised and the gap bridged between concepts and indicators in order that theory and research become linked. How can the 'variables' so developed be manipulated to lead to a broader generalisation? There is no all encompassing 'solution'.

The guiding criterion for this research programme has not been to treat age as a unitary category without first establishing whether other social divisions cut across it in similar ways, eg social, economic or political contexts. However, this age-related study will enable life histories and processes to be considered over time. As Faraday and Plummer argue (1979), 'Their special strength is their emphasis on subjective meaning, which makes them particularly

appropriate for studies of a certain kind and especially for those which utilize an interactionist theoretical framework'.

The aim of this programme (Chapter 1 - Formulating the Problem), was to engage with two groups of twenty older people. The original aim of the research programme included an intention to engage with two groups of working class older people, using the Registrar General's categories but the Pilot Study and Preliminary Review (See Chapter 7 for fuller discussion), suggested a change of terminology in response to issues emerging from the data created. But what of sampling methods?

### Sampling Methods

Qualitative research work is, by its very nature, going to be small-scale. Therefore taking a proportion of the population, or sample, requires careful consideration. The emphasis however, for qualitative methods, is on the validity of the data collected, which may be achieved at the price of its reliability and representativeness. (See chapter 12 'Limitation of the programme' for fuller discussion).

At the beginning of this programme the two main variables were age and social class (This variable was dispensed with after the 'Preliminary Review' Chap 7), therefore the sample selection had boundaries around who would be included and who would be omitted. The nature of the research programme and the hypothesis - older people and community care - determined this position.

Jean Morton-Williams says, 'Decisions regarding the composition of the sample for the qualitative study emerge from the objectives and are modified by considerations governing choice of method and the scope of the study,' (1985, p30). However, it is important that respondents should be selected objectively by rigorous sampling procedures.

The sample group, based on age, together with the two field locations was then created. The two markedly contrasting sites were chosen, an

inner-city and rural location, firstly to go some way towards countering the limitations over representativeness and secondly, to offer the opportunity to compare the data from two separate sites.

Morton-Williams continues, 'Sample design in qualitative research is usually purposive; that is, rather than taking a random cross section of the population to be studied, small numbers of people with specific characteristics, behaviour or experience are selected to facilitate broad comparisons between certain groups...' (p 30). It can be argued that the qualitative and investigative process that follows in making gradual sense of social phenomenon such as 'contrasting, comparing and classifying one's study', are sampling activities themselves, (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p37).

What this part of the discussion indicates is that a random sample may not have met the focused requirements of the programme. For example, to take the electoral role and go through it selecting a sample with all the constraints of the programme would have been an overly cumbersome process.....

The use of participant observation in this programme is used as a method of gathering data to support the main data created by the schedule, but not as the primary sampling method. It is used in the context of 'triangulation' (See chapter 6 for fuller discussion). Other sampling methods are also available, eg Stratified sampling, Multi-stage sampling (See McNeill, 1985, p34), but were not considered suitable for this qualitative programme.

This programme pursued a non-random sampling method. Fennell (1990), usefully discusses their two main forms, the quota and snowballing types, in the context of social gerontology (p66). He views the quota sampling type as often sequential, giving examples as admissions to hospital wards or to sheltered housing. This did not seem relevant to this programme either.

The second form of non-random sampling he discusses, snowballing, is where the researcher begins with a small number of subjects and asks them for additional contacts who then become respondents themselves. The sample size then expands as the snowball rolls along (see App 6 for Snowball Pathways). Initially in this programme the required population was to have similar characteristics - to be working class - therefore the snowballing was useful. The second aspect to support this choice of sampling was on ethical grounds. Here, personal referral had the consequence of easing the respondent into a positive relationship with the researcher, it also confronted the issue of personal vulnerability with 'a stranger'. Alan Butler (1989, p163), does warn however, of not falling 'into the trap of ageism and adopt a paternalistic attitude' in such circumstances.

It is well documented that snowballing has its limitations in terms of being less systematic than some methods (McNeill 1985, p35), and the sample may have a certain bias, although Fennell suggests this point 'should not be exaggerated' (1990, p66). But the advantages of the data's validity compensates for such limitations.

Although the variable of social class was dispensed with at the preliminary review stage (See chap 7 for further discussion), the ethical position, together with the success of the snowball method up to that point, encouraged the researcher to pursue the snowball sampling method.

One group of respondents was intended to be Gaddesden Row, (Gaddesden Row was subsequently replaced by Redbourn - discussed later in Chapter 7) Hertfordshire, a rural location, and the other at Luton, Bedfordshire, an inner-city setting. The two groups were chosen not for comparison but to give a more representative response. Data was created and gathered by participant observation and structured interview schedule. The two groups of respondents were interviewed by the researcher 'in-depth' (Banaka, 1971), using an interview schedule (App 2). This empirical method involved observation of a natural phenomenon in its natural setting. The qualitative data created fell



initially into a priori categories and later into categories that emerged during the analysis. Respondent's views (Cannell and Kahn, 1968) and opinions (Edwards, 1957) were sought and recorded. A 'snow-ball' strategy was used to locate respondents (App 6).

It was intended that the social class variable would be held constant by looking at rural/urban groups, and in a further attempt to eliminate this variable, local and national information regarding living standards would be compared with those of the groups of respondents. This did not take place (Again Chap 7 refers). Methodological difficulties were resolved at the pilot stage which has been termed 'The Preliminary Review'.

Unobtrusive measures (Webb et al, 1970), and ethical issues constantly received consideration. The data created was then set against theoretical notions after having been rigorously analysed.

The strategy for the choice of policies over which the respondents' views were sought rested with the suggestions that the older people themselves made. Generally these appeared under the Community Care umbrella but exceptions did exist.

New implications are drawn from the data created which supports the hypothesis. The small population did not jeopardise the quality of the data because it affords the researcher a greater opportunity of understanding accurately the respondents' experiences of their social world (Oakley, 1981), thus enhancing both the quality and validity of the data. A poignant example of this is an elderly woman describing her position and perceptions of her world to a researcher (Beresford and Croft, 1986, p177), 'My sister's just died at 91 and I've no kin left. I've got a bad heart and bad veins. Some days I feel pretty queer. The old lady down stairs is older than me and the woman next door who I knock on the wall to has lost her husband. So I can't keep knocking to her. I wrote to the Councillor last year to ask if I could have a Phone, but he wrote back and said he was sorry but there was no

money left. I offered to pay for it. I wouldn't keep phoning people up. It was just for emergencies.'

This appears to mirror an important shift in the methodological focus for social gerontology. Smith, for example, says (1989, p107), 'The data base for analysis is no longer exclusively an image of old age and its problems enshrined in official statistics. Nor does it even rely heavily upon depictions of older people rooted in the accounts of health and social care professionals with relevant responsibilities. Given the major bodies of work in the fields of social welfare, criminal justice, education, and health (amongst others) on the significance of the 'client perspective', a researcher who neglects data based upon the views of older people themselves now risks castigation in no uncertain terms.'

Bulmer and Burgess suggest (1986), 'There is a strong tradition of concept formation and theorizing through detailed analysis of qualitative data.... Concepts are not just developed out of observations, nor are they imposed a priori. Their use is justified in terms of their context in a particular theory and particular observations which the theory seeks to explain.'

Further, the ideology upon which the 'Griffiths Report/Caring for People/NHS and Community Care Act' rests, and the broader approach to social policy by the present Conservative Government will be confronted. Finally, some 'Alternative Policy Proposals' (Chapter 16) will be made. This programme has implications not only for social policy and social theory but also for the future direction of welfare policy and practice during the 1990's decade for older people currently living within the community.

## SUMMARY - PART 1

A brief historical analysis centering on Community Care has served a useful purpose for this programme. It has not only brought the discussion to the present but has at the same time outlined the context for this research. In a sense this process has also provided the programme with its own history.

It assisted in the 'Formulation of the Problem' (Chapter 1); the 'Bibliographical Review' with particular prominence given to the 'The Griffiths Report' (Chapter 2); and the 'Theoretical Position and Perspectives' (Chapter 3).

This process of historical analysis also highlighted the need for an updated chronology of events surrounding Community Care (See App 9). This not only demonstrates the rapidity at which policy changes have taken place in the late 1980's and early 1990's, but also some of the contradictions included within them.

The section on 'Methodological Considerations' (Chapter 4), pulls together the analysis of the previous sections. It has also set the scene for Part II of the Research Programme - The Research Process - where a more detailed discussion takes place concerning methodology and the emerging issues.

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## INTRODUCTION - PART II

This research process began with 'insider's knowledge' (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984), a necessary aspect of the qualitative research method. There are many occasions when the traditional methods of social research, (eg a social survey and see 'Sampling Methods' Chap 4), are deemed to be inappropriate. This programme deems itself to be one of those occasions. The researcher for this research programme used his insider's knowledge of policies, practices, experiences and issues associated with ageing (See 'Triangulation' discussion Chap 6). This knowledge informed the general areas to be explored and the choice of areas in which questions were to be appropriately asked although this was initially framed by three older people. The data collection, sample selection process and the type of interaction with the older people were all influenced by the researcher's previous knowledge and experiences. The precise extent of this influence is more problematic to identify but it is the researcher's view that it has had a beneficial and positive effect upon the research.

This part of the thesis follows the path of the research process in chronological order. It sets the scene for Part III of the programme (Data Analysis: Findings and Interpretations), by way of tackling some of the operationalising difficulties that arose both with the evolving instruments and an underlying assumption that social class could be satisfactorily employed as a variable for this programme; the data suggested a contrary view. It explores how some ideas have been informed by the data created and how the preliminary review, in the form of a pilot study, prepared the ground for the main body of the data to be created. It further examines in detail some issues that emerge from the programme as it progresses, in particular the social class debate. Some of the discussions may give the appearance of going off at a tangent but in all cases they have been necessary to resolve to inform the next part of the process. Ground rules for the successful operation of the programme have also been identified during the examination and exploration of the research process.

Research methodologies in this Research Programme cannot be pre-determined because of the dialectic approach. In the preliminary review (Chapter 7 below), the research process is observed in some considerable detail, using respondent 1 by way of an example. The evolution of the research methodology then starts to become clearer as the process proceeds. Thus methods of recording and analysing field data had to emerge throughout the Research Programme. However, it is worth identifying a fundamental and ideological bench-mark for the programme.

The researcher's relationship with the older people, who are sometimes referred to as respondents, is one of using them initially in a consultative capacity - that is the people who were involved in creating the Schedule - rather than the more stereotypical researcher/respondent. It can therefore be argued that the research has been 'done with' older people and not 'done to' them. This has important ideological implications particularly in terms of empowering older people and the 'ownership' of the research programme's findings.

## CHAPTER 5

### Sample Selection and Setting

Of the two field locations, Luton stood firm but Gaddesden Row failed to materialise. Firstly, on closer scrutiny, the potential numbers of people available and eligible at Gaddesden Row were demographically inadequate, although this could possibly have been overcome by reaching out to neighbouring hamlets and lone farmworkers cottages. Secondly, and of greater importance, attempts at getting 'into' the Village community made little headway. Local contacts (ie District Nurse; Social Worker) were made but failed to respond positively to requests for assistance. The negative responses were interpreted by the researcher as being indicative, rightly or wrongly, of the lack of co-operation which might be encountered amongst the older people in the village. On reflection the researcher's approach was perhaps not clear or supportive enough to those from whom he sought assistance. For a combination of these reasons this field location was not pursued. The neighbouring village, Redbourn, was therefore chosen...

Contact was made in both areas through hitherto unknown third parties, a District Nurse in Luton and a Warden of Sheltered Accommodation in Redbourn. Both found a willing older retired person and introduced the researcher. The researcher then determined their social class position according to the Registrar General's classification; they were both working class. The final aspect of the sampling frame was the 'snowball' method of sampling (As previously discussed in chap 4). Key individuals identified at each field location suggested other older people who might also be interviewed so that the nucleus of people could be built up in stages.

What, and in this case who, constitutes the sample for the research programme is of fundamental importance (See App 8 for background data on all respondents). This issue initially produced methodological difficulties. For example, all of the first nine respondents clearly started their lives in working class families. By the age of

retirement some of them had changed their social class position. Most however, remained economically vulnerable.

This debate about Social Class and the discussion regarding the criterion for the sample population for the programme will take place more fully (See Chapter 7 below); but it is worth making a few preliminary comments. Initially social class was included in the research programme as a feature of the sampling frame in terms of eligibility of respondents. However, as the programme progressed this changed as operational difficulties arose. Social class itself did not change in its level of importance or significance but its use as a variable did appear to change. It started as an independent variable, using the Registrar General's classification, but the data created suggested it to be a dependent variable. Being working class was a pre-condition for selection for the sample but because of the difficulties, this changed and the sample was made on the basis of any older person. Following analysis of the data created at the preliminary review, a different indicator evolved into a concept, that involving economic position. Social class had manifested itself into another form for this programme. This later proved more reliable for this research programme than the social class concept although there are many similarities and overlapping issues. But there are also differences, for example, how race and gender are taken into account (See Chapter 9 for fuller discussion).

Age is treated as an independent variable but is acknowledged here as having some social meaning too, for example, a type of life style may evolve in dependent variable form. Additionally age is seen as one part of a complex set of entwined and interlinking social divisions. Initially age is used in this research programme in a unitary form but in such a way that other factors are likely to emerge and other social divisions will interlink with it in significant ways.

Gender was one of the main factors in undermining the use of social class as a variable. The Registrar General's classification focuses upon the head of the household on an occupational basis. Where does



that leave retired women, women with retired husbands, housewives and widows? The questions are numerous. For this programme, because gender was always likely to be a key variable in the findings, it had to receive a continuity of treatment throughout. For these findings to be underpinned and produced under the influence of stereotypical assumptions about men and women would be insidious and undermining of the research programme's ethos and intentions. The use of class schemas and the subsequent findings at the preliminary review confirmed that a more creative use of gender was required to be compatible with the programme.

Ethnicity as a variable has been even more complex to deal with. It has been a significant factor for two of the respondents and will be dealt with more expansively in the analysis of data (See Chapter 10).

The preliminary and the in-depth interviews were carried out by the researcher and it is worth observing that out of 42 older people who underwent the preliminary part, 40, the target, agreed to proceed to the in-depth stage (See App 6 for 'Snowball' pathways and App 8). Of the other two, one moved away from the area following the sudden death of his wife and was not pursued further on ethical grounds (Respondent 12). In the second case, a request was made by the respondent's wife, herself a fully participating respondent, not to pursue her husband's in-depth interview because of his deteriorating heart condition (Respondent 6). This similarly seemed an ethically sound and desirable justification for abandoning the interview.

As such then there appeared to be no 'refusals' nor anybody exercising their right to withdraw from the programme without their having to justify their actions. Such a high response rate may suggest sound representativeness. Additionally, the overall process that the respondents underwent and the instrumentation they encountered appear not to have been intimidating. On the contrary, from a life history point of view some positive aspects have arisen in cameo form (Arena Touring Theatre, 1990), and some respondents asked for a transcript of their interviews to hand on to their grandchildren.

## CHAPTER 6

### The Evolving Instruments

In December, 1988, three older working class people (Registrar General's classification), had volunteered to be engaged by the researcher away from the two selected field locations. The three volunteers did not make up part of the sample population. Lengthy discussions took place with them as a group on two consecutive afternoons about their lives and the major issues, factors and decisions that influenced them, including government policy. Although treating the three people as a small group had the disadvantage of perhaps losing some personal and individual flavour, it nevertheless had the over-riding advantage of forming a workable and identifiable starting point based on a consensual viewpoint. From those discussions the Interviewing Schedule (App.2), evolved. The three older people concerned were used in a consultative capacity.

The headings for each general group of questions, ie Internal World and World of Policy Makers, subsequently emerged from grouping together similar topics and areas. Some very specific points and issues emerged within these headings but these were still based on the material obtained from the three volunteers. The format of the schedule takes account of 'easing' respondents into the interview and proceeds with questions concerning their origins, which people found least threatening, before moving through the schedule to areas that people may have found more difficult to reveal, ie loneliness, finance, political views. Within the two groups, regarding the World of Policy Makers, each point was explored on both a personal experiential basis (P) and a more general and perhaps objective basis (G). This had the advantage of creating data in both a general and particular sense but only in this area of the schedule because the other five groups were based on subjectively personal experiences and recollections only. The creation of the Interviewing Schedule was also influenced in a broad sense by the work of Lofland (1984) and Davis

(1972). The completed schedule was shown to the three volunteers for their views. A positive response was forthcoming about their work.

The starting point had been within the world of the respondents as they construct it. As Psathas argues (1973, p12), the key for social research is 'whether the results of an enquiry fit, make sense and are true to the understanding of ordinary actors in the everyday world.' Theory which is 'grounded' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in the concepts and theorising of the people it is about, is likely to 'fit and work' as the basis for explanation. Penetrating and useful qualitative analysis has the feature of striking a balance between abstract and general concepts on the one hand and descriptions and quotations from a setting's participants on the other hand (Lofland, 1971).

Following initial contact with the respondents via the 'snowballing' method a letter of introduction was given (App 2) to the respondents by the researcher. This appeared to have the function of satisfying relatives and/or carers more than the older people themselves. The data created during the in-depth interviews using the interview schedule was taped and transcribed soon afterwards and always on the same day to maximise the recall ability of the researcher when it was required. Coding from transcripts was undertaken in preference to coding direct from the tape and although this meant some many hours of tedious transcribing it enabled the researcher to get a better 'feel' of the interview, and thus the raw data, before coding was carried out.

Respondents were always advised that they could leave, stop or abandon involvement in the process at any time without justification or explanation. During the interviews notes were made on a data creation recording sheet (App 4) with particular attention being paid to non-verbal cues and identifying items that may have required a subsequent clarification or probe. These were always cross referenced with the tape recorder's counter to enable easy location of such a point should the need arise. On the back of this sheet and immediately after the interview had been terminated, subjective notes were made by the

researcher about how the interview had progressed, considering his own performance in particular. The transcript was then categorised and coded at a later date, in sentence form, using the coding frame (App 3), with its 20 coding categories.

An interesting aside arose from the use of the tape recorder. The majority of the older people were fascinated by hearing themselves on tape for the first time, this took the researcher somewhat by surprise. Most listened to the majority of their interviews on playback and it developed into an essential part of the researcher's ending/debriefing process.

The aetiology of the Coding Frame (App 3) and the Data Creation Summary Sheet/Summarised Coding Frame (App 5) are important and, in a sense, are the most fundamental instruments of the research programme. They therefore require more detailed explanation and comment.

The Coding Frame (App 3), emerged after the first nine respondents' transcripts were undergoing their preliminary analysis (See Chapter 7 below for fuller comment and analysis). The raw data emerged into the twenty categories and these categories further lent themselves to being grouped, and eventually collapsed, together under the four main sector headings: (i) economic position, (ii) resource eligibility, (iii) personal worth and (iv) future life chances.

The headings for each category are self explanatory. The definitions for the terms Latent and Manifest are (literal and) as follows:  
Latent: Concealed, not visible or apparent, dormant, undeveloped but capable of development. Manifest: Easily seen by the eye or perceived by the mind, put beyond doubt.

After the coding of the first nine respondents it further emerged that the existing twenty categories could be satisfactorily and safely collapsed together under the four main sector headings but with the additional feature as to whether the data created appeared, from the respondent's perspective, as a negative or positive aspect of their

life, (App 5). The context of the conversation had to be relied upon heavily to enable accurate coding. However, at the same time it was not entirely possible to exercise this in a totally objective and clinical fashion, nor, it has to be said, was this totally desirable for it to remain compatible with the ethos of the programme. This measure relied upon the data created via the transcripts. It also had the benefit, within the principle of 'triangulation' (See discussion below), of the researcher's observations about the respondent and the surroundings, that may have contradicted the verbal data. The number of incidents or episodes that could be coded under the four main sector headings in either a negative or positive capacity then, became the basis of the coding frame. It emerged entirely from the data created. The first nine respondents were then coded again but on the basis of the data creation summary sheet/summarised coding frame (App. 5). The subsequent 31 transcripts were also coded in this way.

#### This Programme's use of Triangulation

At a simple level this term means simply that you get a better view of things by looking at them from more than one direction (McNeill, 1985, p115). Other commentators take a more sophisticated view. For example, Fielding and Fielding refer to triangulation as 'using a number of data sources (self, informants, others in the setting) or a number of accounts of events (the same person regarding an event from several "angles" for different audiences)' (1986, p24).

Denzin, (1970) spoke of triangulation taking four possible different forms: data triangulation (including time, space and the person); investigator triangulation (the same episode/situation being examined by more than one person); theory triangulation (using different theoretical perspectives to examine a situation); and methodological triangulation (including 'within-method' approaches - that is the same method used at different times, and 'between method' approaches - this is where different methods are used in relation to the same subject).

Using Denzin's useful model of triangulation typology, this programme has employed three of these aspects. Firstly, data triangulation has been via the verbal content of the tapes/transcripts, the researcher's notes made during the interview on the 'data creation recording sheet' (App. 4) and, perhaps more unusually, the researcher's own working experience of older people.

Secondly, theory triangulation has been used in the micro/macro debate in chapter 11, where micro/personal issues of the individual person are examined and contrasted with the macro/ structuralist issues regarding the state. To a lesser extent, the examination on the rhetoric/reality basis in chapter 13, could also be included here.

Thirdly, methodological triangulation, on the 'between-method' basis, has also been used. The data created by the 'interview schedule' (App 2) has been considered alongside that of the researcher in a participant observation role during interviews, from where data was created on the 'data creation recording sheet', as discussed immediately above.

But what is the purpose of such triangulation within this programme? Kellaher et al, in their excellent chapter 'Triangulating Data', put it succinctly thus: 'it is obvious that the use of several approaches represents an insurance policy - data overlooked in one approach may be retrieved in another, each compensating and complementing the other' (1990, p.122). Relationships between various methods and different kinds of data can emerge. An example of this is to be found in the discussion in chapter 15, where the interdependence for older people between their micro and macro worlds in retirement is explored.

As Kellaher et al add, 'the differences between data sets can be as illuminating as the areas of overlap. The aim is thus to add breadth and depth to the analysis' (p122). Additionally in this programme it has also been used to support the validity of the data.

Moving the discussion away from triangulation, somewhat inevitably, ground rules emerged for the coding of data. For example, some terms were clearly ambiguous despite attempts at the interviewing/tape-recording stage to avoid this. If there was doubt about the meaning of terms and/or sentences, they were excluded from coding. If data could have been coded in more than one sector it was always coded in the first sector on the coding frame, and clearly only once (Note 1). Although this has the disadvantage of possibly weighting the coded data slightly it appeared more important to have a strategy that was identifiable, coherent and did not fail due to lack of continuity.

Note 1

Examples of coding are included in App 7 - the transcript of Respondent 1 - where negative and positive coded parts of the transcript are highlighted. Other issues such as frequency, contradictions and ambiguous comments are also addressed.

## CHAPTER 7

### The Preliminary Review And Emerging Methodology

Between 5 April, 1989, and 25 July, 1989, twelve respondents were engaged, the first two, as referred to previously in Chapter 5, were introduced to the researcher, one at each field location (respondent 1 and 4). The sampling frame, using the 'snowball' method, then located ten other respondents who then underwent the preliminary interview, making a total of twelve in all at that stage.

Of the twelve, two respondents were not engaged at the in-depth stage of the process and were not pursued further in the research programme (Chapter 5 refers - respondents 6 and 12). A third respondent suffered an acute health problem that developed into a chronic condition and although she was not able to participate at that stage did make contact with the researcher some months later offering to make herself available for the in-depth interview. This was taken up and her data later joined the main body of the material (respondent 5). No refusals or other withdrawals have subsequently been encountered, although respondents were reminded at intervals that they had the right to withdraw at any stage.

In-depth interviews were thus undertaken with nine respondents for the Pilot stage, four at the Luton field location and five at the Redbourn field location. The data created at that stage was carried forward to the principal data creation part of the programme, ie the latter 31 respondents following the 9 people originally used as the Pilot group. Somewhat surprisingly, in the researcher's view, locating and thus obtaining further respondents did not present in practice the potential difficulty that he had anticipated. With a careful referral process of the researcher always being referred, after the first two, by older people themselves, respondents appeared only too willing to share their experiences, views and attitudes, including some very personal details, with a hitherto, total 'stranger'.



To exemplify the research process most accurately and coherently and to indicate the methods, issues and procedures used by the programme, the process and chronology as undertaken by respondent 1 will be described in some detail as an example. This gives an overall view of the process each respondent underwent although this varied very slightly from one person to another on occasions.

Following the identification and the introduction of the researcher to the potentially new volunteer respondent by a third party, always in person, the researcher at that point made an appointment to return at a mutually convenient time, if the respondent so wished, to explain more about the programme.

This second meeting, the preliminary interview, between the respondent and the researcher was about trust-building, information giving and permission seeking. The trust-building included assurances about confidentiality. It should be noted that only the researcher is aware of the respondent's identities. In the interests of confidentiality all respondents, after initial introductions, were subsequently given a reference number. The researcher telling the respondents something about himself was also an important aspect, perhaps indicating a level of commitment to older people themselves. These considerations taken together thus had the beginnings of establishing a rapport between the researcher and the respondents (Walker, 1985, p36).

This easing into a relationship then moved to information sharing. The researcher was able to explain more fully about the programme and show the respondent an explanatory letter (App. 1) and the equipment to be used (eg tape recorder; interviewing schedule). Basic background details about the respondents (eg their specific age), were then obtained and then written down on cards for indexing. Obtaining these details had three purposes: firstly, to get the respondent acquainted with being asked questions and the answers being written down; secondly, to start a systematic card index of the respondents (Factsheets - Lofland, 1984, p57); and thirdly, from this background information, a social class classification could be made (up to the

point where this was still relevant). Permission had to be sought about using a tape recorder and also to check again at this point whether the respondent had changed his or her mind about participating in the programme. Finally an appointment was made for the in-depth interview.

The in-depth interview itself was based on the Interview Schedule (App 2), and taped. Field notes were kept on the Data Creation recording sheet (App 4), this included noting such things as gestures and expressions that would enrich or possibly contradict the verbal data created. These were matched up during transcribing. After the in-depth interview the researcher then made written subjective observations about the process of the interview, this was recorded on the back of the Data Creation Recording Sheet. Those notes from respondent 1 are as follows:

'Notes afterwards'

Schedule. Didn't feel that it needs changing significantly at this stage - in fact, mildly pleased with how the instrument worked. Don't feel I want to change it now - wait until September! (After the Preliminary Review).

My performance

(i) Somewhat anxious not to let the respondent ramble - she warned me about this and gave me her permission to "shut me up" - in so doing I feel that I didn't probe nearly enough and perhaps this may have curtailed the quality of data. However, it seems manageable when set against above comments re Schedule and it was my first taped interview of the programme.

(ii) Mrs B seemed generally willing to talk and "perform" and appeared at ease only getting a little fidgety when discussing status - it soon passed - perhaps because she doesn't see it as important or probably it is too painful. My conjecture!

Mid-way break (more tea) I certainly needed a break after 25 minutes, very intense work balancing: (i) Observing the Schedule, (ii) Positive non-verbal reinforcement ie nodding, eye contact, (iii) Positive verbal reinforcement ie 'yes', 'oh really', (iv) Notes, (v) Schedule Reference numbers, (vi) Tape counter reference, (vii) Feelings, (viii) Probes etc etc.'

As referred to in Chapter 6 above, the playing back of the tape to the respondent on completion of the interview became an important part of the winding down and eventual closing of the interview. It evolved to signal the final stage of the in-depth interview process. A letter to the respondents about the programme's development will follow at a later date. In some cases specific requests were made to visit people and give feedback and an update on the programme's progress. This will be undertaken at a later date.

Morton-Williams's comment in Walker (1985, p36), 'The interviewer thus has to convey that it will be an interesting, enjoyable, unembarrassing and unalarming experience', now has a new, more comprehensive and deeper meaning for the researcher.

In September, 1989, it was possible to code the data created by the first 9 in-depth interviews into 20 categories. The categories were totally determined by the data created. Data was allocated in sentence form to that of similar types of meaning and intention. These categories were then noted as having the potential to be grouped under the umbrella of 4 main sectors of the coding frame (as discussed in Chapter 6 above in relation to App. 3). These coding categories evolved from the data created; however, the researcher had to be careful not to exclude any new and unanticipated categories that 'did not fit' the coding frame.

The data from the 9 respondents in its 20 categories were laid in numerical sequence on a large floor. Apart from the simple comparison of matching volume and numbers of incidents of meaning to similar categories, each category was re-examined for the possibility of

further emerging trends and to identify the potential for collapsing categories together. The frequency of one point arising many times was also tackled (See data analysis below).

#### Data Analysis - Emerging Methodology.

##### Stage 1 - Coding Frame - Appendix 3

###### 1 Presence of data in categories.

More data appears in categories from the earlier respondents - ie Respondents 1 and 2 than 8 and 9 - which could imply that the earlier data created is richer. However, it is more likely that the researcher became more discerning with the coding. There are variations in the amounts of data in the categories, for example, the Latent Section within Resource Eligibility far exceeded that in the Manifest Section which may be important regarding vulnerability.

###### 11. Comparing Content and Meanings...

Jones (1985, p59), discusses trying to develop conceptual categories from the crucial base of the categories and concepts of the respondents. 'However, in comparing and contrasting and bringing them together I will inevitably formulate broader superordinate or 'sensitising concepts'. These are not always identical to the former.

There is a heavy presence of data in what became the Economic Position and Personal Worth sectors. For example, Respondent 4 (Economic Position), 'Well I think Thatcher, if she could, she'd give us less....' and Respondent 3 (Personal Worth), 'They seem to think when you get older you don't need much room'. Contradictions are also naturally present in the data, Respondent 3 again, (Economic Position), '...they don't give us a lot do they -- the State' and later '...we've got plenty of everything.' Ambiguous statements were not coded. (See App 7).

### iii Integrating Data and Identifying Trends.

As the preliminary analysis proceeded '...clusters of constructs... and chunks of meaning' Jones (1985, p62-8), started to take shape. Meaningful data was falling into a wide range of potential categories. From this it was possible to observe that there was an overall identifiable difference between positive and negative aspects within the data and the number of references to these on each individual's transcript. The data created by the respondents 7 and 10, was markedly more positive than the other seven Respondents. This appears to focus around their different economic position. Although both people started their lives in working class circumstances (Registra General), their social position through life had changed both from an occupational and financial standpoint. They now both have occupational pensions and although this does not preclude them from economic pressures it certainly sets these two respondents apart from the other seven within this stage of the Programme.

It does indicate that people solely in receipt of an Old Age Pension are in an 'Economically Fragile position' (This will be explored in more precise definitional terms below). One example from the 'Economically Fragile' group of the seven respondents will serve as an illustration, Respondent 2 (Economic Position), '...haven't got all that much to play with... If I tell you I haven't had a new pair of shoes for 4 years... we just manage to hold our head above water.' By contrast one of the respondents receiving an occupational pension has a different emphasis in his data. Respondent 7 (Economic Position), 'I don't feel desperately poor... but that's because I've got a Vauxhall Pension... if I hadn't... it would be a lot different.'

The observing of the Positive and Negative aspects of data present in the transcripts required further analysis and scrutiny. At the same time the emphasis that had arisen over the economic and occupational issues needed to be maintained although the original coding mechanism that evolved, and its corresponding categories, stood up well. This data did lend itself, in categorised form, to collapsing some of the

categories, but only into the 4 main sectors and with the differing emphasis on the numbers of positive and negative aspects being retained (See Data Creation Summary Sheet & Summarised Coding Frame - App 5).

Some of the Negative and Positive aspects appeared across the different coding categories when the twenty existed. However, on collapsing the 20 categories to the 4 main sectors - Economic Position; Resource Eligibility; Personal Worth and Future Life Chances - examples for coding were reviewed to ensure that duplication of counting had not take place.

#### Stage 2 - Data Creation Summary sheet/summarised coding frame - App 5

##### i Presence of Data in categories.

The data, when coded in a summarised form, supported the earlier thoughts about the 'Economically Fragile', including the associated issues concerning a definition. Possible connections between the occupational pension and the notion of 'Economic Fragility' appeared more evident and obvious. Perhaps by default the importance of the individual's economic circumstances has become tangible and can be connected to other aspects of the respondents' lives.

What then is meant by the term 'Economically Fragile'? What has arisen from the data created is that for the purposes of this research programme the definition is:

Retired people whose income is the State Pension only and are either eligible for, or are receiving Benefits (eg Income Support).

Therefore the issue of those who are and those who are not 'Economically Fragile' became fundamentally important at the coding stage. This became a new concept underpinning the whole of the research programme. The importance of the social class concept however, is not totally diminished, but for the purposes of

operationalising this programme it is being replaced in 'indicator' form. The terms 'Economically Fragile' and 'social class' do have overlapping areas of meaning but they are not entirely synonymous.

Clear differences are apparent between the summarised coding frame of the two respondents 7 and 10, who are in receipt of occupational pensions, and the other seven respondents who are not. (See App 7 for an example of summarised data). Perhaps this indicates that the research instruments are complementing the data created.

#### ii Comparing Content and Meaning.

In the Future Life Chances sector of the summarised data there is a strong presence of data indicating negative aspects of Future Life Chances for the seven respondents who are 'Economically Fragile'. This may be useful for the potential linking together of the 4 sectors of the coding frame and highlighting possible causal factors. This imbalance in life chances is not reflected in the data of the two people who receive occupational pensions. There are issues connected with gender here as the two people in receipt of the occupational pensions are men. This will be explored more fully within 'The Emerging Social Class Debate' (Chapter 8 below) and Part IV of the programme when further data from other sources is available.

#### iii Integrating and Identifying Trends.

The distribution of the data so far created appeared to be falling into the categories in an uneven way, thus leaving room for identifying trends and from which conclusions were to be drawn at a much later date.

Another aspect that is pursued later in the programme is that connected with the semiotics of 'managing' and 'getting by'. At this stage further data needed to emerge before this could be explored more thoroughly and expansively.

## CHAPTER 8

### The Emerging Social Class Debate

As has been seen in the previous chapter the operationalising of social class as a variable has caused methodological difficulties. Is it a dependent or independent variable in this context? In this part of the research process the concept of social class receives more detailed analysis but with a heavy emphasis upon economic issues, as this is fundamental to the analysis of the data created by the research programme.

Why 'social class' anyway? This question provides a useful opening to the analysis. The Researcher's work experience includes a number of years in Local Authority residential provision for retired people, where an increasingly familiar pattern of admission was observed. Not only was there a disproportionately high presence of admissions of people from working class origins but additionally this same group of people had fewer alternatives available to them than some other social groups. These observations and subsequent impressions gained were thus both embryonic and formative for this programme.

Critics of the Left present evidence of the detrimental effects of the institutions that are described as Old Peoples' Homes suggesting they have failed to provide an alternative to the historical and cultural legacy of the Poor Laws. Criticisms from the Right are firmly based in the economic inefficiencies and effects upon the investment concerned for the benefit of a small minority.

The term 'working classes' evolved in the early nineteenth century, gradually replacing earlier descriptions such as 'the lower orders'. Marx and Engels (1967), were, of course, in no doubt as to the presence and existence of the working class, a class engaged in a constant struggle with the capitalist employing class. Modern Marxist historians have further refined and developed this concept; for example, E.P. Thompson (1968), has sought to describe and explain how



the working class was created in England during the last century. Others include Marcuse (1964), Althusser (1971) and Habermas (1976). Other non-Marxist historians have attempted similar fields of study.

The presence of the working class in Britain, if the traditional but now disputed definition of this as manual workers is accepted, is declining. This fell from 75% of the employed population in 1911 to 49% in 1981 (Saunders, 1990). Steady changes in both employment types and occupational structure has meant a steady decrease in manual jobs. There remain however, distinctive features that have been associated with this group; these include poverty, employment conditions, mortality rates, reduced chances in education and lack of structured careers.

There are conflicting views; on the one hand it is claimed that the pattern of differences in class, wealth and power have not only survived the Thatcher premiership years but were consolidated during this time. On the other hand there has been a noticeable decline of class attitudes and culture, the proportion of manual workers in the work force continues to decline and with the boom in consumerism and consumption it could be argued that the working class as a social force has ceased to exist.

The notion then that social class is continually evolving becomes apparent and raises a major methodological hurdle. However, the distinctive features outlined above that are associated with the working class are in ample evidence within the retired population. For example, 'there is evidence that health status in old age is more a product of experiences throughout life, than of age per se, and that people from social classes I and II are less likely than those from poorer backgrounds to suffer the most debilitating conditions,' (Wilkin & Hughes, 1986, p164). This dynamic was mirrored prior to the war in the United States where the retired population split into 2 categories: The poor, living on Social Security only and the second group having access to an occupational pension in addition to their Social Security. As Hendricks & Calasanti say (1986, p237), 'Not only

did such a policy promote inequality, it also spelled an important danger for the continuation of the welfare system. Since the middle-class elderly had access to occupational pensions, they were in effect removed from the political struggle to improve the state pension.' They point out that in the context of the 1980's decade this development, "...has taken us to a class-based system which perpetuates the inequality throughout the lives of various workers.'

In 1979, Townsend found that two-thirds of older people were living in or on the margin of poverty, as indicated by supplementary benefit level, as opposed to just over one-quarter of the population as a whole (Townsend, 1979, p788). As Townsend then indicates, and this is supported by Taylor and Ford, (1983) both social class and age are major factors in determining financial security amongst old people. Thus the young-old (under 75 years) are more secure than the old-old, (over 75) and those from middle class backgrounds are better off than those from the working class. (The definitions of social class used in these studies made use of standard classifications.)

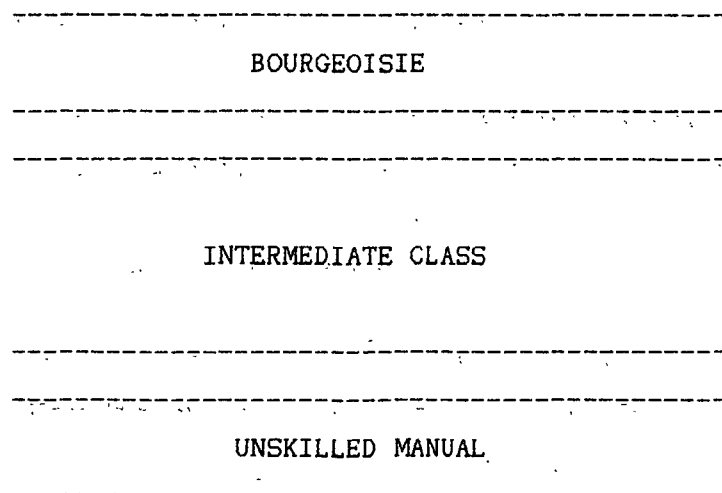
What then are the general methodological issues surrounding social class? The application of conventional social class categorisations to people is becoming increasingly more contentious and problematic, with the participants in the debate operating from within two broad perspectives. The first is that the prior emergence of social class still remains strong, identifiable and in some cases is becoming progressively entrenched. Conversely, the second position argues that social class is gradually collapsing together some of its categories and thus its form is constantly changing. Neither group of proponents appear to argue about the existence of the social class concept itself, only the form it takes.

Proponents of the first view include Crompton and Jones (1982) whose work derives from Marx. They argue that the net effect of industrial capitalism means that the manual working class will become increasingly homogeneous and that many non-manual workers, ie some clerical workers, will become part of the working class.

Marx himself (1970) argues that class polarisation will continue to evolve and that there will be a progressive divorce of the bourgeoisie from the main core of the population as intermediate strata become proletarianised.

Parsons (1949) and Penn (1975) argue that class structure will remain more or less constant in terms of broad structural axes of division. In fact Penn and Dawkins (1983) in their paper 'Structural transformations in the British class structure: A log linear analysis of marital endogamy in Rochdale 1856-1964' say, '...this data lends no support to the theories of class polarisation, class homogenisation, deskilling, embourgeoisement or class evaporation.' They further add, '...the basic pattern of class structuration has not revolved around either a manual/non-manual or a working class/middle class divide but rather involves a tripartite division into bourgeoisie, unskilled working class and the remainder.'

A Model of the Generic Class Structure Of British Industrial  
Capitalism...



(Penn & Dawkins, 1983)

Penn and Dawkins produce a model that suggests that some of the economic divisions between strata that have previously underpinned

social class categorisation are now redundant for the purposes of explaining the limits between classes.

The second group in the debate include those who support the notion of Embourgeoisement: this is the argument that the working class is becoming middle class. More recent contributors to this debate include Hobsbawn (1981) and Kellner (1982). Another theory that supports the general view of this group is that of class evaporation: that the class structure of advanced societies is becoming increasingly fluid as a result of processes like industrialisation (Sorokin, 1959).

The debate, of course, continues, for example in the work of Goldthorpe (1983), Erikson and Goldthorpe (1988) and Leifsrud and Woodward (1988). The latter raise the issue of gender within social-class classifications, '...conventionalists cannot hope to deal with the articulation of gender at the societal level in the class system.' This methodological limitation is equally applicable in other areas. As one of the critics, Marshall et al (1988, p73) points out. This articulation has consequences for the distribution, '...of life-chances, class formation and class action among both men and women alike.'

As Delphy argued, (1981) when discussing class classification in relation to women, '...they are predicated on men's positions and statuses. Categorising older women by social class on the basis of jobs is even more difficult: usually they have not worked recently and their husbands may have died many years before. Neither does using class of origin, based on father's occupation - perhaps 80 years earlier - provide a sensible yardstick for ranking the current circumstances of elderly women'. Some of these points are also applicable to retired men.

This view is strongly supported by many other sources (Morgan, 1986; Marsh, 1986). Even so, the work of one of the most influential gerontologists, Peter Townsend, among others, still adheres to the conventional class categorisations. Perhaps the classification scheme

that receives the most supportive critical comment is that developed by Goldthorpe et al (1983) over a number of years. They elaborated a class schema based on Lockwood's (1957) idea that purchasing power alone was not the only important source of social division but that the features of the work an individual did also had a bearing.

There are several versions of this scheme but all share the purpose of constructing classes whose occupants share both similar economic prospects and similar amounts of autonomy and authority. To achieve this purpose a heavier and more systematic use is made of employment status and the forms of labour contract than in those groupings that are based on occupations alone. The most recent version was developed for the 1983 British Election Survey and is a 'look-up' procedure from the cross-tabulation of occupational group and employment status.

As Marsh argues (1983) '...this should make the scheme particularly suitable for classifying women's occupations. There is evidence to suggest that this scheme is the best of all existing measures at predicting work related dependent variables.' It has to be stated that this is said in the spirit of 'the best of a bad lot'. Later Marsh argues, (1986, p126) when again discussing the merits of occupational classification, this time with regard to the system used for the 1981 census, '...it is probably impossible to identify occupation as a purely technical variable, stripped of its social connotations through disassociation with title. It is doubtful whether the major conceptual breakthrough heralded has in practice been achieved.'

It is therefore argued here that the variable of social class is inappropriate for the purposes of this programme. It is both too dependent on some factors, for example the influence that men's occupations have, and too dismissive of others, for example the position of all retired people as an entire group and also that of retired women in particular. These factors are too influential to be viewed in this way (ie to be treated as unfortunate but tolerable weaknesses), for the purposes of this programme.

## CHAPTER 9

### Final Decisions About Sampling

Clearly methodological problems with operationalising the social class variable exist within this programme. How can it be resolved?

While just under one in five of all people living in Great Britain are over retirement age they comprise two in every five of those living on incomes on or below the supplementary benefit (SB) level (as it was termed then). The risk of experiencing poverty is three times greater for those over retirement age than those below. In 1981, (the most recent figures available at the time of writing (DHSS, 1983 Social Security Statistics), just over one third of elderly people were living on incomes at or below the poverty line, compared with 10% of those under pension age. Two-thirds of elderly people (5.9 million) live in or on the margins of poverty.

One can argue that the 'advantageous' position of pensioners among the poor has been manufactured by government policies largely outside the pensions field. For example, the creation of mass unemployment, cuts in unemployment benefit, failure to maintain the value of child benefit and the encouragement of low wages (Walker, Winyard & Pond, 1983). Although it can perhaps be said that the general position of pensioners has improved considerably over the last 30 years, 'many pensioners still have relatively low incomes' (DHSS, 1984, p7).

As Walker says, (1986, p196) 'In fact, what has been happening, largely due to the influence of occupation pensions, is that incomes among elderly people have been becoming more unequal.' It seems that the government may be hoping that the proportion of retired people drawing occupation pensions continues to rise and thus the dissenting few both decrease in numbers and become poorer. This would support the ethos of the Thatcher Government with regard to the reduction in the responsibility of the state.

As regards class differences Taylor and Ford (1983, p183), in a discussion about Wedderburn and Townsend's work say, '...compared with elderly from non-manual occupational backgrounds, those from manual backgrounds are less likely to have accumulated savings, property and private pension rights and, as a consequence, they have lower net disposable incomes and lower net unit assets.'

This then appears to further refine the context for this research programme. It brings the discussion precisely to areas highlighted by the data created.

#### The way forward for this Research Programme

The explicit way in which the Thatcher government dismisses poor people and the abdication of responsibility that the state has shown for welfare provision appears to have no bounds. This view, taken together with the emerging issues from the data created, are beginning to synthesize themselves to form relationships. Economics becomes fundamental to this and offers more contextual meaning to this programme.

The term 'Economically Fragile' appears to be a more reliable variable for using on the sample than the more generic term of working class. Although the two terms have much in common in respect of whom they apply to, the 'Economically Fragile' term is considerably more definitive and can therefore act as a more reliable variable with the potential for greater explanatory power. As Marsh says when discussing categories and explanatory power (1986, p124), '...it is important that it be adequately theorised, or circular explanations ensue.'

Following the Preliminary Review, which included the emerging social class debate, five areas require further discussion and clarification to enable the programme to progress.

Firstly, the concept of the 'Economically Fragile' respondents appears to stand up to scrutiny at this point in the programme although when

more data is created it may identify trends in the opposite direction. However, the concept will be developed as the cornerstone of the sampling frame. Instead of the main comparison being between those who are working class and those who are not, it is between those who are 'Economically Fragile' and those who are not. This is very significant for the sampling procedures because a social class classification was made on the respondents by the researcher at the preliminary interview stage. This will no longer be necessary. In future when respondents are located by the 'snowball' method they will not undergo this classification because the programme is looking to compare those who are and those who are not 'Economically Fragile'. Therefore all new respondents will be taken on their merits of being older people first and foremost and which ever of the two economic groups they fall into their data will be categorised on that basis.

Perhaps a clarification is necessary here, as it is not necessarily assumed or implied that people with occupational pensions are free from economic restraints. For example, respondent 10 who owns his house and has an occupational pension still finds house repair bills a worry. However, respondent 11 who also owns his own house but does not have an occupational pension finds his house a burden and a financial millstone round his neck, neither being able to afford to maintain his house nor being able to move.

The spirit then of the 'Economically Fragile' concept is worth pursuing. It resolves the methodological difficulties previously encountered around operationalising social class; the new concept has the dual role of both underpinning the entire research programme and as a variable.

The form it takes and the potential consequences require exploration. Would it make a 'better' programme for theory generation to compare the 'Economically Fragile' with those who are not? These are questions that receive fuller consideration later in the programme when more data has been created.



The data created from employing the new concept in such a fundamental way and the subsequent new comparative style have implications for the descriptive and explanatory validity of the data created.

Secondly, thought and consideration was given to the possible inclusion of a new question: If you had spare disposable income what would you spend it on? However, an ethical problem exists of possibly highlighting how awful a person's position is. Additionally, the data appears adequately rich in its present form.

Thirdly, the collapsing of coding categories and the summarising of the data created has taken place during the Preliminary Review and at this stage it is not anticipated to collapse sectors further. Therefore the four sectors together with their negative and positive aspects will be pursued.

Fourthly, it was hoped at the outset of the programme that coding, after the Pilot Stage, would have been possible straight from the taped in-depth interviews. However, the experience of the researcher suggests this will no longer be the case because of the importance of the written transcript and having the 'feel' of the entire interview. Perhaps more importantly the coding is probably performed much more accurately. The transcripts allow much more time for thought about classification and when points or issues are coded and given reference numbers they are much more readily accessible for later work, such as counting numbers (n) of references and locating extracts to use as quotes in the thesis. The coding system essentially operates with eight coloured highlighter pens (The 4 main sectors in positive and negative form) and the accumulated figures are placed on the summarised coding frame (App 5). Although the transcribing itself is somewhat tedious and labour intensive, these disadvantages are easily outweighed by the advantages it affords the researcher.

Finally, the researcher, in the in-depth interviewer role, has increased the amount and quality of probe questions since the first

four in-depth interviews. Clarification is now sought more confidently and incisively.

It would appear then that this programme, and its associated instruments, have both encountered and resolved some operational difficulties at the Preliminary Review stage. Some refinements were required and subsequently made. It therefore appears expedient to move into the next phase of the programme and create the main body of the data. The data from the first nine respondents was carried forward to join that from the thirty-one subsequently located older people. More data was created and generated for interpretation and analysis within the context of testing the amended hypothesis, where the term Economically Fragile replaces the term working class. The amended hypothesis for testing is thus:

'That the impact of current Social Welfare Practices and Policies reduce the life chances and options of Economically Fragile older people, effectively accomplishing their social incarceration.'

## SUMMARY - PART II

The research process to be used for creating the main body of the data has been designed, piloted and reviewed including issues connected with sampling.

This proved to be a lengthy process in itself for many aspects of the methodology evolved from the data. Often these first appeared in rather a crude form and thus had to be further refined.

Some of these included ideas, and others, instruments. The refinement of ideas included what has perhaps developed into the underpinning cornerstone of the programme, the identification of the concept of 'Economic Fragility' and its subsequent use as an independent variable that replaced social class.

The instrumentation too involved some substantive changes that evolved from the data. The data eventually proved amenable to a summarised form of coding which on the one hand ran the risk of losing some of its substance and meaning, but on the other meant that the data became more manageable for the researcher and the danger of being submerged under a sea of data was averted.

The methods used for the design and analysis at this stage guided the study but did not impose pre-designed categories. The categories evolved from the data.

The final decisions about the research methodology and process were eventually reached, after the review and appraisal, in order to provide a workable framework within which the main body of the data could be created.

Therefore the programme was able to proceed over a period of several months achieving the creation of the major part of the data in readiness for the analysis.

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### INTRODUCTION - PART III

The fine balance between description and analysis of data is sometimes difficult to achieve. Similarly, interpretation of the data also requires the delicate balance of using the data created without imposing the naturally subjective views of the researcher thus distorting the data. Hopefully these balances have been achieved.

The context for such progress in the programme is best summed up by a quote from Lofland, (1984, p145), in his discussion about data analysis and he, himself, quotes Glaser, (1978), 'As Barney Glaser put it, the inflow of data produces a psychological "sparking" of ideas. These ideas, which are written, filed, and organised along with the data, form the basis of your analysis. Even though the analysis evolves out of the data, each still depends on the other for meaning and understandability'.

The above sets the context for this part of the programme and is supported by the view and stance taken by Walker (1985, p3), 'Analysis of qualitative material is more explicitly interpretive, creative and personal than in quantitative analysis, which is not to say that it should not be equally systematic'. This programme subscribes and adheres to this view.

In the Findings - Analysis, (Chapter 10 below), the data has been described and analysed within a framework of phenomena that evolved from the Preliminary Review (Chapter 7 above).

In the Findings - Interpretations, (Chapter 11 below), further evolution of ideas occurred and it became possible to transform some of the phenomena into concepts (ie Chapters 11.1 and 11.2 below), and subsequently consider these in the context of theory generation (Chapter 11.4, Micro and Macro below).

The limitations of the programme (Chapter 12 below) have been identified in the context of an informing critique and evaluation.

## CHAPTER 10

### Findings - Analysis

The concept of whether older people are, or are not, 'Economically Fragile' has developed into the fundamental variable for classifying the data created. A number of emerging issues and trends subsequently arose when viewing the data from this perspective. Additionally such variables as gender have been employed. These will be explored more fully below including relationships between categories, both similarities and differences, and people's constructions of their worlds. Connections between each individual presentation, based upon the main coding categories (Economic Position, Resource Eligibility, Personal Worth and Future Life Chances), have been made as they arose.

- In endeavouring to achieve clear presentation virtually all figures are converted into percentages and presented in comparative table form. Most commonly these numbers and percentages have been discussed in comparative terms. These are regularly reinforced by quotes that have been coded and taken from the respondents' transcripts. Occasionally the researcher's observations undertaken during fieldwork have been used. The data presented adhere to the framework of the four main coding categories with each one in turn being discussed under each category to achieve cross referencing and thus checking the data. The coding categories evolved from the data; this was discussed in Part II of the thesis. The format used in the Economic Position (Table 1), presentation below is adhered to in the subsequent parts.

The inclusion, in the analysis, of specific quotes from respondents became partly problematic. The emphasis in the respondents' quotes has always been based on the respondents' apparent perception and intention. Occasionally these have been ambiguous, and in these cases have been omitted where necessary (See App 7 for examples). However, the term, 'I manage', as used by the respondents will be explored more fully later. The term 'value' will be qualified where possible and the

term 'significant' is used quite regularly, but not with its statistical meaning.

Of the 40 respondents, including the 9 from the pilot, 22 (55%) were 'Economically Fragile' and 18 (45%) were not. Although other important trends emerge, for example the clustering of groups with a gender bias, the majority of the findings are influenced by the economic concept (See App 8 for background data on all respondents).

Comparisons between the two sites have not displayed significant differences with the one exception of lone women at the Luton site who are in receipt of widows pensions. This is expanded upon below.

#### 10.1 Economic Position

Table 1 includes a breakdown of the 40 respondents on the basis of their economic position and the 4 summarised coding frame categories. n = the number of individual negative or positive references that the respondents used in their interviews, which have subsequently be transcribed and coded. No single reference has been given any more significance than any other.

Table 1

A comparison between Economically Fragile and non Economically Fragile people.

	Economically Fragile		Non Economically Fragile	
	(22 People)		(18 People)	
	+ Aspects	- Aspects	+ Aspects	- Aspects
	n	n	n	n
Economic Position	63 (26%: 74%)	184	60 (40%: 60%)	90
Resource Eligibility	92 (34%: 66%)	179	51 (44%: 56%)	64
Personal Worth	101 (39%: 61%)	158	83 (54%: 46%)	71
Future Life Chances	42 (22%: 78%)	145	28 (38%: 62%)	45

Considering each of the 4 categories vertically in the Economically Fragile group there are fewer positive aspects in their lives than negative aspects. The Economic Position and Future Life Chances categories display a very strong deficit while the other two categories display only a strong deficit.

The same 4 categories for those people who are not classified as Economically Fragile do not exhibit the same distribution of positive and negative aspects. For example, in the Personal Worth category the pattern is reversed, with positive aspects in the majority.

Clearly there are strong identifiable differences apparent in Table 1, indeed, a strong contrast exists. For these differences a closer examination will be made on a horizontal basis for each coding group.

(a) Economic Position.

Under this coding category for the Economically Fragile group the positive aspects of the respondents' lives are considerably less than the negative aspects on a 26%:74% basis. Respondent 11 says, 'Only having the basic....I don't drink or smoke and I've had to save up 5 years to get the money towards having the house painted. Infact it got worse since the Government altered the rates....I wish I'd got a pension so I couldn't have to ask for anything....That's all I look for in life now, just being able to pay my way'. Respondent 1 says, 'Your savings don't go up with inflation do they?'

For the adjoining group in the table in the non Economically Fragile category, although a deficit exists it is considerably less (40%:60%) but with the negative aspects just in the ascendency. As respondent 7 says, 'I don't feel desperately poor but that is because I've got a Vauxhall Pension....if I hadn't it would be a lot different. There are some people who are so hard up they can't afford to keep warm and even buy the warm clothes that Curry (Note 1) says about'. Respondent 5 says, 'I have an occupational pension and I also have some capital from which I get interest'.

The implications for such differences are easily identifiable from the older people themselves. Very different styles and standards of living are being experienced with hardship commonplace in residences of those who are Economically Fragile, eg people living in one room to save on heating costs.

(b) Resource Eligibility.

On the basis of being poor and living in a Welfare State many of the older people appeared to think that they should perhaps be entitled to some welfare resources. However, the data from those who were classified as the Economically Fragile group did not always reflect this in practice.

For example the trend in the Economically Fragile group favoured the negative on a 34%:66% basis. Respondent 8 says, 'My wife's feet for instance, or mine. I used to have mine done private, you know how they used to do it. My wife used to go every six weeks, now it's every two months or more. Me, they don't even trouble about me!....we don't go for holidays because if we went for holidays some thing would go short. I'd like some more clothes but that's neither here nor there'. Respondent 2 says when referring to an annual holiday which he cannot afford, 'That's one thing I do miss 'cos in the olden days we used to..'.

The comparative group had a less obvious imbalance (44%:56%) but with the experiences being very different. For example, respondent 22 says, 'I feel as free as a bird....whatever I want to do I get up and I can go and do it....You see to me I've got a good life....The rent comes out of my pension, and then if I want something I can afford to buy it. I don't have to pick stuff up and say I can't afford it'. Respondent 7 says in a very positive way, 'I don't claim any Benefit you see'.

There may be different levels of satisfaction, different needs or the respondents' respective views and expectations of welfare resources

may vary. There does appear to be a connection between Economic Position and Resource Eligibility. At this point, however, further support of this view is required.

(c) Personal Worth.

How people view and value themselves, again presents itself to the detriment of the Economically Fragile group. In this group the trend favours the negative aspects on a 39:61% basis. Respondent 3 says, 'Well I think if she could, Thatcher, she'd give us less....my friends who I used to go out with are all dead now....My rent had gone up, we got a few coppers more. They don't give us much do they? It's not a lot'. Respondent 4 says, '....if they give you enough to pay your rent and live on you'd feel a lot happier than having to ask for handouts and things.'

For the comparative group the trend is 54:46% with the positive aspects slightly exceeding the negative aspects. Respondent 5 is an example of that group, 'I've always been comfortably off....I do have outside interests....I've got loads of friends....I'm very lucky'. Respondent 10 when discussing particularly enjoyable aspects of his life says, 'Me holidays, days out with the wife shopping. Saturday touring on the bus pass.'

It appears that financial circumstances have some connection with how older people value themselves. The notion that self esteem is affected by economic issues appears to be a recurring theme, supported by the data.

(d) Future Life Chances.

The Economically Fragile group returns to a very strong trend of 22:78% in this instance with Respondent 14 making the point strongly, 'Well it's a case of mind over matter....people are fed up with a petticoat dictator....your electric going up, your gas going up, your foods going up all the time and clothing and everything else is up up.

But your money is stationary when you're on a pension.... They'll privatise the air you breathe soon'. Respondent 3 says, 'They're not going to give us only what they're doing now'.

The non Economically Fragile group shows for the first time, a strong trend towards the negative aspects. In this category it is 38%:62% favouring the negative aspects. However, it still remains a lower trend than the comparative group. Respondent 32 sees it thus, 'Well I realise from an economic point of view if you haven't got the income you can't spend it....I lament the necessity, I'm not a believer in cuts'. Respondent 33 says when discussing his 'going out' routine, 'Sociability, I'm Welsh, singing and all this is a part of my life.'

The Future Life Chances of both groups are not held by them in very endearing terms but again, for the Economically Fragile group there appears to be less flexibility and a restricting of chances and opportunities in their lives compared with the contrasting group.

#### Conclusions of 10.1

Being Economically Fragile for this group of older people influences very negatively how they experience the worlds in which they live and interact, including their view of themselves.

A significant difference can be seen in Table 1 between the position of those people who experience their lives from an Economically Fragile standpoint and those who do not. Each of the four coding categories provides support for this interpretation.

Having established this connection and influence, further examination of the data will take place but from a different perspective in an attempt to identify other trends and issues. For example, in 10.2 below the 22 Economically Fragile older people will be considered on a gender basis (Table 2 leading to Table 3).

## 10.2 Resource Eligibility.

This term evolved during the research programme from how older people viewed the aspects of their lives connected with their eligibility for welfare resources.

In Table 1 one of the trends identified was that Economically Fragile people experienced their Resource Eligibility more negatively than the comparative group.

Remaining currently with the 22 older people who are Economically Fragile this part of the comparison and examination focusses on those people who live alone and those who live with other people. Two tables are presented. Table 2 sets the context and then Table 3 gives a more detailed breakdown and analysis on a gender basis of the twelve people who live alone.

Table 2

A comparison between Economically Fragile people living alone and those living with another/others.

	Alone (12 People)			Not Alone (10 People)		
	+ Aspects		- Aspects	+ Aspects		- Aspects
	n		n	n		n
Economic Position	31	(26%: 74%)	87	33	(25%: 75%)	97
Resource Eligibility	48	(37%: 63%)	82	44	(32%: 68%)	93
Personal Worth	54	(39%: 61%)	83	47	(39%: 61%)	72
Future Life Chances	22	(31%: 69%)	50	20	(20%: 80%)	78



Although the trends between the older people who live alone and those who do not, all lean in the same direction, three of the groups are remarkably similar. (This in itself is a satisfactory observation and indication of the coding system's reliability.) The exception is the figures represented in the Future Life Chances category; here the higher of the two trends favouring the negative is with people who do not live alone (20%:80%), by 4. This perhaps poses more questions than it may offer ideas. Older people who live alone may be more satisfied with their 'lot', although this appears unlikely when considering other inferences in the data. People on their own may have developed different life coping strategies or perhaps have lower expectations of the Welfare State support systems. Alternatively, the older people living with others may be less satisfied with their 'lot' because of greater requirements by more than one person. These points remain speculative.

In order to depart from conjecture it is clear that this part of the data requires further scrutiny from another perspective, therefore the 12 people who live alone are considered in Table 3 (See over page), on a gender basis. Although the numbers of people are quite small the strength and importance of the differences emerging from the data urged such a comparison.

Women are over represented here on a 3:1 basis (Of the 40 respondents there is, by coincidence from the snowballing, 20 men and 20 women. This over-representation here is surprising and interesting in this data because quite a number of the women respondents are widowed, particularly those from the Luton site who were married to Vauxhall manual workers. These women are now receiving small portions of their former husbands pensions and this has been enough to extract them from the Economically Fragile definition. They remain however, in a vulnerable position because these small pension payments just raise the women above some Benefit thresholds. Consequently some are no better off than had they not been receiving the pension payments. It appears to be a variation of the Poverty Trap (Note 2). Many important

issues arise from this data and they are expanded upon in Chapters 11.2, 13, 14 and 15 below.

Table 3

A comparison on a gender basis of those Economically Fragile people living alone.

	Lone Women (9 People)			Lone Men (3 People)		
	+ Aspects	- Aspects		+ Aspects	- Aspects	
	n	n		n	n	
Economic Position	27	(31%; 69%)	60	4	(13%; 87%)	28
Resource Eligibility	35	(38%; 62%)	56	13	(33%; 67%)	26
Personal Worth	39	(43%; 57%)	51	15	(32%; 68%)	32
Future Life Chances	20	(41%; 59%)	29	2	(9%; 91%)	21

Considering the table vertically the overall trend of the figures is similar for both groups. The negative aspects are in the ascendancy although this has already been seen from the Economically Fragile parts of Tables 1 and 2. However, when considering the data horizontally an interesting and consistently different pattern emerges between the men and women, albeit with such small numbers, the experiences in the quotes.

(a) Economic Position.

The trend of 31%; 69% for the women compared with the 13%; 87% for men is a stark contrast indeed. The position of men in this category appears economically grim and they are undergoing terrible hardship, as respondent 27 says, 'the pensions is bad....If you had a bigger pension you'd be free from worries. After all you've paid it all in.

There you are you've got to manage.' Respondent 14 says, 'You've got your electric going up, your food going up all the time and clothing and everything else is up, up, but your money is still stationary.'

That of the women appears arduous enough as Respondent 1 indicates, 'Your savings don't go up with inflation....I had to watch every penny I spent....I've never asked for anything....I rub along'. Respondent 28 says, Yes, I've got solid fuel...it's a bit of a job at times because that's very expensive now, coalite.'

A difference in position here is identifiable between the contrasting men and women, but perhaps only that of tone.

(b) Resource Eligibility.

Although the experiences of women favour the negative aspects, (38%:62%), coping levels appear more to the fore. Respondent 21 says, 'I'm very fortunate, my daughter-in-law's sister in America sends my clothes and I haven't had to buy clothes for years really....It's not everybody who's got the things to wrap up in, who's so fortunate.' Respondent 20 says of her local hospital, 'It's not as bad now...I used to come home and feel terribly sad.'

The trend for the men is 33%:67% in the same direction but as Respondent 14 says the position appears even worse for men, 'I am just hoping and praying I can keep going from day to day sort of thing, ...with the Health Service which they are destroying.' Respondent 11 says, 'I used to have help with my garden before....now you can't get the help when your Home Help goes on holiday, there's nobody to replace her'.

This may be accounted for by a different level of expectation in a 'mans' world. There may also be a generational or historical factor involved around role definition.

(c) Personal Worth.

Women (43%:57%) here appear to be able to view themselves more positively than men (32%:68%), seemingly irrespective of their economic position. Respondent 20 says, 'we were always very thrifty and I think now it makes us more thankful for what we've got. It's not on the breadline, I never think it is really, I manage'. Respondent 21 says when discussing her family, 'Oh they think I'm wonderful... I'm well looked after.'

The position of the men also favours the negative. The men appear to see themselves very negatively in terms of self esteem, for example Respondent 27 says, '....because it doesn't matter what government gets in it won't make any difference to the pensioners. If I had a bit more pension I wouldn't need to worry about things. You can worry about things. I can worry a bit same as others.' Respondent 11 says, 'I haven't got any social life now...I mean if you pay all your bills and you've got a nice bit to spare you have a different outlook.'

The two positions, although in general exhibiting the same trend, convey a different emphasis.

(d) Future Life Chances.

The relationship between positive and negative responses for women (41%:59%), is remarkably different from that of the men's (9%:91%). A woman Respondent, 25, comments in a contradictory manner, 'I don't do nothing only sit and knit. I go to Clubs, I go to the Monday Club and I go to the Good Companions on a Tuesday and I sometimes go over there to the Chapel....My daughter takes me shopping every fortnight, takes me market shopping.' Respondent 24 says, 'Well actually I'm quite content...Well I think my son, for one, is quite proud of me.'

Male respondent 38 gives a more straight forward view when commenting about the future of his Benefit Payments, 'I can't see what they are doing but I think they would stop perhaps, I think so. I don't know

what they are going to do, you cannot say.' Respondent 11 makes a similar point, 'You're sort of not free. Every now and then you've got forms to fill up....Well the last couple of years you might as well say my standard of living has gone down if anything.'

The Future Life Chances of the men in this group indicate an extremely low expectation but are perhaps slightly skewed because of the numbers, although Table 4 below supports this trend.

#### Conclusions of 10.2.

Resource Eligibility then for this group can perhaps be strongly connected to the level of expectation that a particular person or similar group of people have. Moreover, older people seem somewhat dissatisfied with their resource allocation, real, or perceived, as it may be.

From the researcher's fieldnotes another factor arose in relation to the men, that of their standard of accommodation. Decor is a relative term but damp and mildew represent environmental health hazards with definite levels of acceptable standards. Both damp and mildew were commonplace in the accommodation of single men. None of the women in the entire sample appeared to experience such poor living conditions.

What is clear here is that Table 3 consistently represents in all 4 categories the inferior position of men when compared with women in this data. The connection between gender and the quality of perceived life experience is apparent. Further, no evidence arose to refute the view drawn in 10.1 (b - Resource Eligibility), that Economic Position and Resource Eligibility are connected.

The perspective of being alone is now pursued in the next part but from a different viewpoint, that of the snowball pathways map (See App 6).

### 10.3 Personal Worth

The connection and influence of Economic Position upon the respondents has already been displayed in Table 1. In this section the pathways of the snowball map will be explored, a different snowball mechanism occurring at each site. The people at the end of the snowballing arms who were unable to refer the researcher to another volunteer, with the exception of the last person in each snowball who were not offered the opportunity, have been grouped together.

There is an implication that these respondents were thought to be experiencing some form of possible isolation because they were unable to refer the researcher on to another respondent. Of course they were perfectly at liberty not to do this, without explanation.

The people at the end of the arms totalled 13 and those not at the end of the arms 27. The 13 people are examined on the basis of whether they are Economically Fragile or not. In Table 4 below, the data are analysed on a similar basis to that of Table 1, ie positive and negative aspects are compared for each of the four coding frame categories. This slight change of perspective does afford the opportunity for this data to refute or support the earlier data. As can be observed the trends do vary slightly from those of Table 1.

Considering the Economically Fragile part of Table 4 vertically the trend of the figures points to the negative aspects being higher in each of the four coding groups. This is not repeated in the other half of the table. The coding categories there are divided equally in having two clearly favouring negative aspects and the other two exhibiting the opposite trend. The Personal Worth category does however, stand out.

Table 4

A comparison based on people positioned at the end of the snowball arms between those who are Economically Fragile and those who are not.

	Economically Fragile (6 People)			Not Economically Fragile (7 People)		
	+ Aspects n	- Aspects n		+ Aspects n	- Aspects n	
Economic Position	15	(29%: 71%)	37	31	(53%: 47%)	28
Resource Eligibility	24	(40%: 60%)	36	20	(44%: 56%)	25
Personal Worth	26	(42%: 58%)	36	40	(62%: 38%)	24
Future Life Chances	10	(26%: 74%)	28	13	(42%: 58%)	18

(a) Economic Position.

The horizontal comparison offers a deficit proportion of 29%:71%. Respondent 3 sees the position thus, 'Considering they don't raise it (The Old Age Pension) or anything they don't give us a lot do they, the State....Well I think Thatcher, if she could she'd give us less....it would never go up, it would always go down with excuses. 'Cos she's flying about all over the world it don't matter about us.' Respondent 25 says of her poor financial position following the untimely death of her husband, 'I never got a penny.'

Respondent 10, from the non Economically Fragile group where the trend is a positive 53%:47%, offers a different view, 'If I didn't have a pound or two by me, and the wife as well, we shouldn't be able to have a holiday.... The Vauxhall Pension makes a difference....if it's cold we have the fires on and we meet whatever cost comes.'

These people's experiences appear to be very dissimilar as could be expected by now from this data.

(b) Resource Eligibility.

The ratios in this category are the same but with the overall trend favouring the negative. The ratio for the Economically Fragile group is different from that of Table 1. An explanation is difficult to identify in this context.

(c) Personal Worth.

Here the proportion for the Economically Fragile group is 42%:58%, which favours the negative aspects. Respondent 18 says, 'I just go from day to day and hope for the best, sort of thing.... (Adding when discussing the power that older people have), Not on our level anyway, some retired people have got money haven't they. I mean they've paid in a what's a name don't they, insurance for it don't they, but we didn't.' Respondent 38, when discussing the power that older people wield says, 'No, they haven't got any power.'

However, the comparative data indicates a proportion of 62%:38% favouring the positive aspects of the non Economically Fragile group. Respondent 39 conveys this, 'I make my own decisions even if I'm with people....I don't feel lonely at all....And I've got an income.' Respondent 16 gives a different emphasis, 'I think the main thing in life is to keep occupied, to join in as many things as you can and to get around as much as you can.'

The connection between those Economically Fragile people who may be suffering social isolation at the end of the snowball arms and personal worth is apparent here, a position very similar to that of the lone men in Table 3 above. Both of these points back-up and support the connection that was made in Table 1 between Economically Fragile people and their Personal Worth.



(d) Future Life Chances.

The trends for the comparative groups are quite similar favouring the negative. Respondent 24 from the Economically Fragile group sums the position up well, 'We're supposed to have higher pensions but on the other hand again they rise the rents. So here we are, where we were!'

Conclusions of 10.3

It appears that there is a link in this part of the sample between how people view themselves in Personal Worth terms and their economic position. This supports the similar claim made under Economic Position in 10.1 above.

For the final part of the data presented and analysed gender has again been used as a variable with which to compare the sample.

10.4 Future Life Chances

The connection and the influence of Economic Position upon Future Life Chances was made in 10.1 above. Here the Economically Fragile part of the sample, 22 people, has been divided on a gender basis. Generally this supports the findings of 10.1, but more specifically it adds to the findings and debate surrounding the lone men and women in 10.2. Although there are overlaps between Table 5 (below) in this part and the previous Table 3 above, quotes are taken from different respondents and the perspective of enquiry is different.

Women are the majority in this part of the sample basis. However, considering the two parts of the table vertically the trend, as may be expected now from this particular part of the sample, is in the same direction, that of favouring the negative aspects.

Table 5

A comparison on a gender basis of Economically Fragile people.

	Women (13 People)			Men (9 People)		
	+ Aspects	- Aspects		+ Aspects	- Aspects	
	n	n		n	n	
Economic Position	44	(30%: 70%)	103	19	(19%: 81%)	81
Resource Eligibility	56	(37%: 63%)	95	36	(31%: 69%)	86
Personal Worth	62	(44%: 56%)	78	39	(34%: 66%)	77
Future Life Chances	26	(30%: 70%)	60	16	(19%: 81%)	68

(a) Economic Position.

The position of the women, 30%: 70%, compared with that of the men, 19%: 81%, appears to be the most preferable of the two positions, but within the context of neither position being acceptable to the older people concerned. Male Respondent 26 comments, 'As prices rose they used to give you about £2.00 for the increase in the cost of living. Immediately you got it the Council put the rent up another £2.00, so you found you were still in a rut. You were still paying big prices with nothing to pay it with....any time now there will be a gas bill coming for the central heating, cooking and fire and that hits you a bit hard.' Respondent 8 says, '...we don't go for holidays because if we went for holidays something would go short.'

The position of female respondent 36 is a slight improvement upon this, 'It's a tight struggle really. I've tried to go down the Town Hall to claim but they said we can only give you so much....Then you think you're over your limit so you are no better off....Mind you we

do have holidays.' Respondent 15 says in reply to a question about the her economic position, 'I manage, I get by and save a little bit.'

There does appear to be an identifiable difference here between the men and women.

(b) Resource Eligibility.

Here the trends are quite similar, 37%:63% for women, and 31%:69% for the men. The women, however appear to be in the more satisfactory of the two contrasting positions. Female respondents 23 says, 'Well I think they see to us alright really. We're thankful for what we have really....I'm just coping on my own really.' Respondent 18 says, 'We've got our heating...and there's the travelling Warden who comes once a fortnight.'

The men's position has a proportion of 31%:69%. Respondent 8 comments accordingly, 'I'd like some more clothes but that's neither here nor there....as it is we get a rent rebate, but if we never (Indicates cutting his throat) we would be very hard pushed....it makes you feel like the poor relation.' Respondent 26, when discussing how he requested a Home Help following his wife's discharged from hospital, says, 'They said she could only have one for one day a week and she would have to pay for it. I said if I had to pay for it one day a week I'd do what I do all the other days in the week - do it myself.'

The difference in position and emphasis is again apparent and identifiable here.

(c) Personal Worth.

The trends are quite similar to those in the previous coding category comparison, the women being 44%:56% and Respondent 23 saying, 'Well I love the life because later on we shall see the trees and all that coming out.' Respondent 16 says, 'I'm lucky with such a good friend and neighbour...I really enjoy being here, the village.'

For the men the proportion is 34%:66%. Respondent 2 comments, 'I have to make do with the clothes given me these days....Only by getting out more but how I'm going to get out I don't know....Well I get down at times.' Respondent 8 adds, 'Well if you've got the money you go to the head of the queue, if not, you take pot luck.'

The ability of women to 'manage' or 'cope' better than men seems to be apparent.

(d) Future Life Chances.

The ratios here match those of the first category, Economic Position. For the women the trend is 1:2 (30%:70%). Respondent 4 says, 'We have to sit and take what's given to us....there is cuts and each time one comes you just wonder how you're going to manage....Well I think what they give us to live on just isn't enough, we should have a bit more help with things, you know to make life just that little bit more easy....It's not affecting me at the moment but it might do in later years when you're not so capable of doing for yourself.' Respondent 16 adds, 'Well the thing is to-day, the well-off ones who are getting good money aren't interested in us. Like Redbourn been trying to get a Centre going, a Sports Centre, well, the 'well to do' folks are not interested at all.'

For the men the ratio is 1:4 (19%:81%). Respondent 2 says, '...if I could get out and about more I'd be that much more happy...we just about manage you know...It affects everybody in the poorer classes.' Respondent 17 says, 'We just about cope.'

The connection between the Economic Position and the Future Life Chances categories appears very clearly. This comparison in the above Table 5, it has to be noted, is carried out in the spirit of the 'lesser of two evils'. The positions and experiences of these older people leaves considerable room for improvement with the men being particularly vulnerable according to this data.

The consistency of the figures in this comparison is very plain and, for the men particularly, matches that from Table 3.

#### Conclusions to 10.4

The influence of Economic Position upon Future Life Chances appears to be strong on the basis of this part of the data. More generally these findings support those of the previous three parts, both broadly as in 10.1, and specifically as with gender in 10.2.

#### 10.5 The Black Respondents.

Two of the respondents (5%), were black men, one falling into each of the two groups, the non Economically Fragile and Economically Fragile respectively. Neither of the respondents exhibited any major differences from the overall trends in these sample groups and for this reason the majority of their data remains integrated with that of the other 38 respondents. Both however, had their own unique experiences and perceptions to convey. These will be explored briefly

Respondent 38 finds himself in the position of existing on Benefit payments equivalent to the old age pension, he is thus in an Economically Fragile position. He has been in this position for 8 years, having arrived in this country at the age of 58 in 1975, and lives constantly under the threat of the DSS stopping the Benefit. He says, 'Only if they don't give me the Benefit it's too difficult to carry on.' This is an additional burden and stress he is constantly living under. He currently relies very heavily on his family.

Additionally he finds himself in a very contradictory position of not being registered for the pension but is registered and is expected to pay his portion of the Poll/Council Tax. The DSS have it in their power to convert his regular Benefit payment to an Old Age Pension. His future looks very uncertain but his general experiences correspond very closely to the other lone Economically Fragile men.

The other respondent (37), finds himself on the other side of the sample classification. He came to the country as a younger man and now receives what he terms a 'very good' occupational pension. He puts the position of older people thus, 'This is a difficulty for me because people who have got their own house and are going to retire and if they haven't got a good support and running their life on a pension, I find their pension is not sufficient.' He also puts his own 'privileged' position in perspective, 'But there is one thing to be remembered, those food which we are buying this is a minimum use, the more expensive things we can't buy....Holiday - forget it - if you ask me because I can't save any single penny out of the whole year.'

When both were asked about racism neither were able at that time to identify racist experiences, respondent 37 says, '....my life is going usual, there's nothing harm, nothing harassment in my life in this country or even in Kenya.' However, although the respondents did not experience racism, the position of respondent 38 can readily be perceived as deriving from a form of institutionalised racism.

The data from two black respondents then appear to rest easily alongside the rest.

What has emerged from describing and analysing the data?

#### 10.6 Summary of Analysis

Of primary importance to this programme:

Of primary and fundamental importance is that the connection between those people who are Economically Fragile and those who are not has been elucidated (10.1). Table 1 displays this comparison around the 4 main coding categories. Each of these 4 categories is linked to the Economically Fragile concept developed from this data.

Of secondary importance to this programme:

It appears from this analysis (10.2) that the Economically Fragile lone men and women comparison supports the more fundamental one above and further, it highlights differences on a gender basis within the sample.

Similarly the conclusions from the comparison between the Economically Fragile and non Economically Fragile people (10.3), at the end of the snowball arms, supports those of 10.1 and 10.2.

From 10.4, the final comparison between the Economically Fragile and non Economically Fragile on a gender basis, further support is gained for conclusions 10.1 and 10.2 above.

There appears to be an inter play of supporting evidence between the fundamental and secondary findings in both directions. Some factors have been isolated and identified. Perhaps most importantly there appears to be no evidence in this data that refutes the above connections, trends and outcomes.

The tracing of the above trends, variables and relationships from their source has, in this case, helped to identify some general principles underlying the above phenomena. These are transformed into analytical outcomes below.

#### Final Analysis:

People's Economic Position pervades most other areas of life. This leads to different types of experience, existence and ultimately quality of life for those who are Economically Fragile and those who are not.

Economically Fragile men and women have very different experiences of life from those who are not, especially those who live alone.

### Interpretations of Analysis

What interpretations then can be placed on the above? This will now be explored more fully in the next chapter (11), under the following headings:

Being Economically Fragile: A Pervasive Circumstance.

Gender interpretations and social isolation.

What does 'managing' mean? The use of language as a defence or a coping strategy.

Theory generation:

- i (Micro) Personal life spirals and careers.
- ii (Macro) Political Social Control of a 'problem population'.

#### Note 1

Mrs Edwina Curry was at the time a junior minister at the D.O.H. under Kenneth Clarke. She had a 'flair' for publicity. At a speech she made to an Age Concern audience (Berkshire, 22.9.88), she gave advice to pensioners to wear woolly hats and gloves to prevent them from dying of cold. This advice, understandably, upset people, not least many older people themselves whose pensions were not enough to cover heating bills. Ironically, much of what Mrs Curry advised was sensible but the message got obscured by the messenger.

#### Note 2

Poverty Trap - Where many people in receipt of means tested state welfare benefits find it difficult to escape poverty because if they increase their earnings/income, these may be offset by the loss of benefits/tax advantages.



## CHAPTER 11

### Findings - Interpretations

To date in the research programme there has been the development of an 'evidential chain', (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p227). Respondents in their different roles, but all older people, have emphasised different factors during the data creation process and these have been coded accordingly where that has been appropriate. Can any causal links be identified within this coding process? This part of the thesis explores some of the possibilities.

The four areas that were outlined at the end of the last chapter will now be analysed further. They will be explored individually in terms of interpreting their meaning in relation to the data created by the programme.

#### 11.1 Being Economically Fragile - A pervasive circumstance.

As has been seen from Chapter 10 above, links have been made between a person's economic position and their subsequent resource eligibility, personal worth and future life chances. Another interpretation of those connections is offered in Chapter 11.4 (i) and (ii) below.

But what does this term Economically Fragile mean for older people's life experiences and expectations within the sample? Is the purported unequal distribution of wealth unique to this group of people in their economically fragile position? Does this inequality equate with older people being less powerful than some other groups in society? These questions will be addressed in this part of the thesis.

A fundamental area of sociology is pertinent to these questions; it is the study of inequalities, social and economic inequalities in this case, because material resources to which people have access determine many other aspects of their lives. Most commonly in sociological

discussions and debates these inequalities are discussed in social stratification terms and for this set of circumstances would probably have been under the heading of social class. Earlier in this research programme the limitations of stratification on this basis were outlined in relation to this sample. Wider points were also made about the place of women in present social class schemas. Here the concept of social stratification is adhered to but not simply on a social class basis. The inequalities demonstrated in the lives of the older people in this sample cut across those boundaries and this programme additionally considers those boundaries flawed and thus themselves discriminatory.

Can the inequalities for this sample be considered as structured inequalities? Before approaching this question the notion of equalities has to be expanded upon. For the purposes of this thesis equality means an ontological equality of persons, an equal opportunity to achieve desirable goals and the equality of life conditions affecting these, and finally an equality of outcome. The inequalities in status, economic position, power and authority are all contributory factors.

In Britain, the welfare state did play an important part, in the 1940's and 1950's, in bringing about greater equality of opportunity and condition. Those social changes were mainly based on governments adhering to the economic ideas and policies of J. M. Keynes (1883-1946). In the general economic recession which has heavily influenced the world economy since 1973, successive British governments have moved away from the Keynesian economic policy towards a monetaristic policy which cuts state expenditure on welfare in order to encourage and develop investment and profitability. The outcome of this appears to be an increase in inequality and a more ready acceptance, at least by governments, of such inequality.

Weberian sociology (Dahrendorf, 1979), refers to the chances an individual has of sharing in the economic and cultural goods of a society as 'life chances'. The distribution of such aspects is usually

skewed and asymmetrical. In this sample, material rewards are clearly distributed unequally, as is demonstrated by the different circumstances and experiences of the Older People concerned. This asymmetrical distribution probably reflects different levels of access to such material rewards. This point is reinforced by Marshall (1981), who saw modern capitalism as a 'hyphenated society' where there existed inevitable contradictions between democracy, welfare and class.

These inequalities have, as is somewhat inevitably perhaps confirmed by this research, led to wider forms of disadvantage and deprivation. This is affecting other aspects of the respondents' lives, as the data from this programme portrayed, with the analysis and interpretation revealing clusters of trends and outcomes. The term multiple deprivation is probably relevant here because of the connection between economic position, resource eligibility, personal worth and future life chances. Although individual examples are important it can be argued that they are less so than structured inequalities that persist over time.

In this sample there appears to be an unequal spread of material resources among the respondents. Whether this is real or perceived can develop into an esoteric debate. Here, however, the existence of the data makes this unequal spread of resources of income and wealth both real and tangible. It is an important indicator here of social inequality. The existence of the 'poverty trap' for some older people has not improved their position (See Note 2, Chap 10). It can be argued that recent changes in Welfare Benefit regulations, the existence of the Social Fund for example, add to the validity of the 'poverty trap' concept. This area is dealt with in considerably more detail in Chapter 14.

It would seem then that the basic premise of the welfare state; that is that the government has the responsibility for the well-being of its citizens and that this cannot be entrusted to individuals or local communities alone nor to private corporations, is not being adhered to

for some of the people in this sample. For welfare states normally protect people against poverty by means of an array of Welfare Benefits, offer comprehensive medical care, public housing and free education for all within an agreed framework of values and attitudes which includes agreement over the financing of these services through state insurance schemes and taxation.

Since the economic stagnation of the early 1970's most of the strands to the welfare programme have been underfunded and their ethos changed. Some, such as public housing, have changed dramatically with some of the housing stock being sold and building programmes being almost at a standstill. Families are under increasing pressure to provide their own welfare help, mainly via women. The growth of voluntary and privatised organisations has mushroomed. Beveridge's vision of state care 'from the cradle to the grave' now looks like an ideal to strive for all over again.

Equality for all is connected with justice. A modern theory of distributive justice has been put forward by the American philosopher Rawls in A Theory of Justice (1971, p62), in which he defends individualism while also arguing a case for equality. He says, 'All social values - liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect - are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any, or all, of these values is to everyone's advantage'. The Economically Fragile older people in this sample are unlikely to see their worlds through the rose tinted glasses of equality and justice.

The social stratification concept that this programme developed, namely the inequality between those older people who are Economically Fragile and those who are not, clearly embraces other aspects of people's lives. Although economic differences are fundamental, adherence to traditional social class schemas has been rejected because, as argued previously, it has limitations for the purposes of this programme. However, in essence there are many points of overlap, for example, inequalities in possession and control of material

resources. How these are viewed and who is involved are some of the key differences. The position of women in this programme is not seen to be determined by, and subservient to, men, and some of the respondents are not lacking in possession of material resources, infact some are quite wealthy, but in property ownership terms not disposable income terms. The power and prestige that people have may be influenced by these factors, as can their life-style. The life-style of the Economically Fragile older people is certainly more restrictive, with resource eligibility, personal worth and future life chances all being seen more negatively than by members of the contrasting group.

Marx would probably have said that this Economically Fragile group of older people constitutes a group who are on the receiving end of structured economic inequalities in the current capitalist society, where they have a reduced and limited access to material rewards when compared with others. Weber may have added comments about the influence of the respondents' social origins, but there does not appear to be a connection between this and whether a respondent is classified as Economically Fragile or not.

The ideas of both Marx and Weber have been further developed and are still used in sociology today. Eric Olin Wright (1978 and 1985) developed the work of both men but with a leaning towards Marx. Frank Parkin (1971 & 1979), did the same but with a leaning towards Weber.

Wright, when discussing people in between the two main classes of the capitalist and the working classes, terms their position ambiguous and sees them as occupying 'contradictory class locations'. For older people who are Economically Fragile and who own property an essential ingredient has been removed from them, that of a controlling power. They have the means but not the accompanying control and power to exercise over it. They find themselves in a position which is both redundant and impotent. In practice within the sample this means that some older people with private houses cannot exercise their wealth

because it is all tied to the property; they do not want to move but cannot afford the maintenance. Their position is contradictory.

For those older people in the same Economically Fragile position but without property, their position is clearer from the outset, they did not have any power to lose. Thus some older people who have a stake in the wealth of society, having membership of the property owning democracy, and those who do not, find themselves in identical powerless positions in retirement, irrespective of their real estate value. Their everyday economic positions are thus experienced in a similar way.

Parkin agrees with Marx and Weber that ownership of property is the basic foundation of class and of the subsequent inequalities structure. Moreover, Parkin suggests property is only one form of 'social closure' that can be commanded by a minority and used as a basis of power over others. Presumably retirement would be another form of 'social closure'. Parkin identifies two important processes involved in 'social closure'. Firstly, 'exclusion' refers to strategies which groups adopt to separate and keep outsiders from themselves and thus prevent them from having valued resources. Older people, and older women in particular, seem to be vulnerable to this process. This links with the Economically Fragile older people experiencing an inferior resource eligibility - they are being 'kept out' by the powerful to free resources for other purposes by the capitalist state - a structured inequality. Secondly, 'usurpation' refers to the attempts by the less privileged to acquire resources - for example, action groups who fight cuts in welfare provision - that have previously been commanded and monopolised by others. Older people still have some progress to make in this area of political mobilisation.

As Townsend (1979, p800), says, 'Inequalities between the aged in their command of resources is also a function of class position.' Depending on previous occupation, some of the elderly had received much higher salaries or wages than others during active working life

and had therefore enjoyed more opportunities to save, and acquire property and other possessions. Those of high occupational status had also had more access to membership of occupational pension schemes. For such reasons, as well as greater opportunity to inherit wealth, and failure on the part of the state's social policies to redress such inequalities subsequent to retirement, class position correlates with poverty.

This vulnerable position older people find themselves in is more clearly identifiable when considered with the help of Marx, Weber, Wright and Parkin. The structured inequality can lead to people being at the 'bottom of the pile'. All of the Economically Fragile older people in this sample are either experiencing absolute poverty or relative poverty. All have major restrictions placed on the choices available to them and how they exercise their power. Giddens (1989, p239), says, 'Poverty has periodically been 'rediscovered' from the time of Charles Booth onwards, and for a while the plight of the poor stirs the conscience of the more favoured - but public concern then rapidly fades away.' Townsend reinforces this point, (1979, p822): 'That the problem of poverty in old age is massive and is continuing cannot be doubted. The policy solutions implied by our analysis clearly centre on the problem of raising the level of state retirement pensions, relative to earnings, introducing supplementary rights to income by virtue of disability and exercising more effective control and distribution of the resources hitherto so arbitrarily and unequally mobilised under the development of occupational pension schemes.'

It appears that economic position is of fundamental importance and influence, as the data created by this programme suggests, in as much that it influences other parts of older peoples' lives, their experiences and their expectations. It is a pervasive circumstance.

### 11.2 Gender interpretations and social isolation.

Inequalities clearly exist, as revealed in the data of this programme, between the position of men and women in the way they experience their retirements. Gender is, in itself, a fundamental factor in stratification. It can be argued that it is the most deep-seated and penetrating. Here in this programme the differences between the male and female respondents perhaps reinforce this view. What might these differences mean though for the purposes of this programme?

In attempting to address this question some of the broader disadvantages and inequalities that women are subjected to will be considered first. Then the gender implications surrounding the connections between women's employment and retirement will be discussed. Finally this will lead to considering the structural causes of poverty and isolation for the women within this sample.

A useful caveat for the discussion which puts it into context is given by Millar and Glendinning (1989, p364), '....within the tradition of British poverty studies the ways in which the poverty has been both conceptualised and measured are neither adequate nor appropriate for describing the experiences of women. This means not only that much of the poverty experienced by women has remained invisible, but also that many of these studies have failed fully to address the causes of women's poverty - as, in turn, have their consequent policy prescriptions'.

Giddens, (1989, p225) says, 'Inequalities of gender are more deep-rooted historically than class systems;....Yet class divisions are so marked in modern societies that there is no doubt that they 'overlap' substantially with gender inequalities'. He further adds, 'The material position of most women tends to reflect that of their fathers or husbands; hence it can be argued that we have to explain gender inequalities mainly in class terms'. However, and perhaps in Giddens's defence, this needs qualifying in that this is an observation about how things are, as opposed to how things should be. The limitations of



seeing women purely in these social class terms where their lives are being determined by men has been argued already in the thesis (Chap 8).

Parkin, (1971, p14), makes a similar point on the same theme as Giddens, '....for the great majority of women the allocation of social and economic rewards is determined primarily by the position of their families and, in particular, that of the male head.' Another useful observation Parkin makes (p15), is that, 'if the wives and daughters of unskilled labourers have something in common with the wives and daughters of wealthy landowners, there can be no doubt that the differences in their overall situation are far more striking and significant.'

The long held view and assumption that class inequalities determine gender stratification is now challenged more readily. The evidence that women are more economically disadvantaged than men is becoming more widespread (Glendinning and Millar, 1987). This appears to focus upon three access points to resources: through paid employment; through systems of income maintenance and replacement both occupational and state; and through the household and/or family (Millar and Glendinning, 1989).

The connections between employment and retirement become clearer. The income from and the nature of women's employment is very influential upon family life including its economic maintenance and in some part determining the economic position of the household. Of course these points are based on the assumption that a 'normal' family exists, ie the traditional notion that the household comprises housewife and breadwinning husband. This family form has now been so reduced in numbers that it has become a minority of all households in Britain today (Giddens, 1989, p228). Additionally, the proportion of families where women are the sole breadwinners is increasing (Walby, 1986) and this also challenges the traditional assumption. In recent years research has concluded that the economic position of women cannot be

simplistically 'attached' to that of husbands, (Leiufsrud and Woodward, 1977).

Women whose continuity of employment is broken because of caring responsibilities or who work part time and receive lower rates of pay regularly find themselves without any entitlement to benefits other than the means tested statutory minimum. However, when women do qualify, in retirement for example, for non-means tested earnings related benefits such as retirement pensions, their lower earnings while in paid work have the consequence that they are also likely to receive lower rates of benefit than their male counterparts (Groves, 1987).

The hitherto orchestrated manoeuvres to continually 'attach' women to 'their' men is clear. Apart from the inherently homophobic nature of this stance the disadvantage and inequality that women still experience in the labour market is now being acknowledged. But what of policy changes? These same disadvantages exist and are reflected in the benefit and pension schemes. As a result many women have had no eligibility at all for benefits in their own right, but only as dependents of a male partner (Pascall, 1986).

The majority of women in this sample have working backgrounds in routine and poorly paid manual occupations. Manual straw hat makers and dairy parlour maids from some years ago are examples. This is not surprising when considering that some of these women only worked for a few years in the 1920's before they were married. After that they were expected to be permanent housewives for the rest of their lives. Some women were able to break free from this expectation during the second world war. Generally however, this meant returning to the low status manual jobs.

Somewhat predictably the average pay of employed women nationally is below that of men and therefore it is no surprise that a substantial proportion of women live in poverty, especially where women are heads of the households. Additionally for working mothers with very small

children who require assistance with child-care, they experience a poverty trap.

From this type of evidence it is entirely understandable that this sample should reflect a higher proportion of Economically Fragile women than men. As Giddens says (p502), 'Being without work when one wants it, and without the resources to lead a satisfying life, brings psychological as well as material hardship.' Elsewhere a similarly strong point is made; for the retired are not even counted as 'unemployed' (Sinclair, 1987).

The notion of unwaged labour as performed by women has, until relatively recently (Oakley, 1976), been disregarded. The inequality in the distribution of unpaid work in the home persists even when the man is unemployed (McKee and Bell, 1985). Millar and Glendinning (1989, p366), develop this further, 'The male "breadwinner" role, manifest in higher levels of earnings or benefit claimant status, tends to legitimate (for men themselves, at any rate) a claim to greater control over the deployment of household resources. Thus not only are men likely to bring into the household a larger income than women from the labour market or welfare systems, but the patriarchal structuring of conjugal relationships means that within the family or household men are also likely to exercise a greater command over those resources.' Therefore older women, whether they have been inside or outside the recognised labour force before retirement, after retirement do not receive any of the benefits that their male counterparts may. This includes occupational pensions and the economic advantages of savings.

Curiously however, although women exercise less power over these resources than men there appears to be an expectation that they will be responsible for managing them on a day to day basis. The responsibility for managing scarce resources is a major task and women do protect their children, and men, from the harsher realities of economic pressures (Pahls, 1988).

Clear evidence exists that older women who are retired and Economically Fragile experience economic hardship at the hands of men. Whether this be at their access point to resources from the labour market or the welfare state, the outcome appears to be the same, that of an unequal distribution of resources.

The older women from this sample appear to be on the receiving end of several layers of discrimination. However, it does appear possible to group these together under the two headings, gender and economics. This appears to place them in a position of double jeopardy, and that is disregarding their older person status.

Retirement does cause problems for both individuals and households even for those who are able to use their retirement time as an opportunity (Parnes, 1985). There are wide variations of income among retired older people and as Giddens (p509) says, '...many older people (15% over 65 or over), live in conditions of some poverty, since the state-provided old-age pension permits few luxuries. Women living alone are on average poorest of all. The social and psychological consequences of retirement vary according to previous job experience and standards of living.' Therefore it seems that in a society strongly influenced by the ethos and central value of work many losses are incurred by women who are retired. As previously mentioned their gender and retirement status place them in an unenviable position. The position of 'retired' housewives is the same, for this remains a contradiction in terms. Can there be such a thing? Men being in the house all day after their own retirement may cause extra work, therefore it is not surprising that some women consider their lives to improve after the death of their partners (Lopata, 1977).

What appears clearly to emerge here is that Economically Fragile women, whether they have worked or not, experience discrimination in their retirement. Inequalities permeate their lives.

One aspect of the data that is perhaps more problematic to interpret is why these women appear to experience their lives with such dignity

and a positive air when compared with that of the men in a similar position. Superficially it appears perverse, for the Economically Fragile men perceive their position and experiences, especially Future Life Chances, considerably more negatively than the women in the same category. Why should this be? Perhaps it is associated with different levels of expectation, for although the women will have experienced several losses on entering retirement from the outset they probably did not have as many as the men to lose. In essence this may mean that differing levels of coping ability may exist.

It appears somewhat paradoxical that the group of older women who have been on the receiving end of discrimination and inequality for most of their lives, on reaching retirement, in a state of economic fragility and living alone, perceive their position to be more positive than the comparable male group, the very group who were probably some of the perpetrators of their injustices. The economic and social isolation that both of these groups suffer is indeed indefensible. The tolerance, coping and acceptance levels of women however, may be higher than their male counterparts. Land and Rose argue (1985), that women's self-sacrifice has rarely been considered a problem and that it is seen as some form of 'natural' feminine altruism and concern for the well-being of others. As they say (p86), 'self-denial is still seen as women's special share of poverty.' Perhaps a slightly more speculative conclusion is that 'sisterhood' is more supportive than 'brotherhood', although it is more likely to rest on the principle that women are more practised at coping in such adversity. After all, they have had a lifetime of experience!

What then appears to be underlying some of these interpretations? Marx would have said that the differences in power and status between men and women are the consequence of other divisions, mainly class divisions, and this would be reconciled when the class divisions were reconciled. However, there are other powerful influences that are relevant in the 1990's. Therefore the debate has been developed further to include the important factors of race gender and age, among others, that are influential in the dynamics.

Perhaps the most important inequality surrounds the access to resources issue. Millar and Glendinning (1989, p367), say, 'These inequalities are both created and legitimated by the overarching ideology of women's financial dependency on men.' This is especially significant for the now lone women in the sample.

Another view is that of Brannan and Wilson (1987, p130): 'Studies of poverty and community life....skated around the issue of women's financial importance. It could be said that they recognised it in empirical terms because it was inescapable, but they did not conceptualise it.'

This continually leads to the concept of gender simply being added to existing structures and not the idea of the status-quo being challenged and new structures being formulated. State policies are still remiss in this arena. Townsend (1987, p127), puts it thus, 'Concepts like inequality, class, poverty and deprivation tend to become concepts predominantly about the situation or condition of men rather than about that of women, especially when put into operational form'.

The focus here upon gender has highlighted the inextricable links between women and poverty and further the fundamental consequences of the sexual division of labour across all areas of women's lives. As Gelphi et al (1984, p4) say, 'The current attention to women's poverty....exposes the unjust and gendered nature of the false separation between the public and the private spheres'. Millar and Glendinning develop this point and offer a worrying conclusion, (1989, p372): 'Trying to understand women's poverty inevitably draws attention to the interactions between the family, the labour market and the state and to how all too often these reinforce, rather than prevent, poverty'.

Perhaps then in this part of the thesis the two variables of gender and Economic Fragility are useful in informing the differences in the life experiences of older men and women. In this sample there are more

poor women than men, this reflects the national trend. But is it safe to assume that because these women have had lives of suffering inequalities and discrimination they are already adjusted to coping with such problems and therefore retirement just becomes an extension of their pre-retirement lives and requires little adjustment? This is unwise. The lone Economically Fragile men suffer these same changes badly and chaotically. Perhaps more worrying and insidious is the assumption that these women can handle it!

The subsequent effect this may have on their separate identities and behaviour will be explored further in the context of 'Theory Generation' in 11.4 below.

### 11.3 The Semiotic of Language

What does 'managing' mean? The use of language as a defence needs to be explored.

It can be argued that one of the more innovatory aspects of this programme, away from the main focus of economic attention, has been the observation that verbal language has been used in several different ways. In order to explore this in some detail the term 'managing' is selected for closer scrutiny, both because it appears to portray this most accurately and also because it has wide implications in terms of its influence.

The definitions below are working definitions and have been taken, in their general sense, from the respective groups. The difference in the use of the term can best be summarised below with supporting examples from respondents. A different emphasis is, however, apparent.

For the non Economically Fragile older people it means 'to act within a longer term view, within the spirit of a positive outlook to Future Life Chances.' Respondents 13, 35 and 36 say respectively: 'Oh yes, I

do manage on my money'; 'I couldn't manage if there wasn't a bit in the bank'; 'You've got to manage.'

For the Economically Fragile it means - 'to act within a shorter term view, in the context of existing and just "getting-by", and within the spirit of a negative outlook to Future Life Chances.' Respondents 17, 18 and 30 say respectively: 'We manage week by week but there's nothing to spare'; 'We're managing at the moment'; 'We get by, we manage.'

What might this difference in the use of language mean? Could it affect an older person's life? Could it be symbolic of other features in the lives of these older people? These are some of the questions that are to be addressed and explored in this part of the thesis.

Probably the work of Mead (1934), is the most useful as a starting point in attempting to illuminate this area in seeking greater understanding of how this part of language is used by the older people in the sample. Mead stressed the importance and centrality of language and the use of symbols in social life. He gave more attention to small-scale processes than wider society and his model of work came to be known as symbolic interactionism.

He argued that reflexivity was fundamental to the development of self as a social phenomenon. Social life depends on our ability not only to imagine ourselves in other social roles but also when taking this role or the other it depends on our capacity for an internal conversation with ourselves. Mead conceived society as an exchange of gestures which involves the use of symbols. Symbolic interactionism thus becomes a self-society relationship as a process of symbolic communications between social actors (Rock, 1979).

This perspective has important contributions to make in the analysis of older people in contemporary society. For example, in the introduction to the thesis, questions were raised around the current stigmatisation, role defining and socialisation processes that older



people are involved in and how this might be linked to a possible predictable 'career' for some older people. The use of language may be symptomatic or indicative of wider social processes and influences currently at work.

It can be argued that the symbols expressed in speech are the most important way in which human meanings are formed and expressed, for language is perhaps the most distinctive of all human cultural attributes. But without wanting to get too involved in the idiosyncracies of the social semiotics of language (Hawkes, 1977, Saussure, 1974, Halliday, 1978), the way in which language is constructed is important here. What is expressed explicitly may not be the same as what is implied. Therefore different levels of meaning exist.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, (p 130), usefully set the tone for such a discussion. 'Our basic premise is that social processes are symbolic processes but that symbols have meaning only in relation to the forces which control the utilization and allocation of environmental resources. We customarily take gender, ethnicity and class as given parameters and boundaries within which we create our own social identities. The study of language as interactional discourse demonstrates that these parameters are not constants that can be taken for granted but are communicatively produced. Therefore to understand such issues of identity and how they are affected by social, political and ethnic divisions we need to gain insights into the communicative processes by which they arise'.

Halliday (1978, p2), says, 'A social reality (or a 'culture') is itself an edifice of meanings - a semiotic construct. In this perspective, language is one of the semiotic systems that constitute a culture; one that is distinctive in that it also serves as an encoding system for many of the others....It means interpreting language within a sociocultural context, in which the culture itself is interpreted in semiotic terms - as an information system'. To paraphrase Levi-Strauss, (1966), there are two fundamental aspects to the social

reality that is encoded in language: it is both 'good to think' and 'good to eat.' Language expresses and symbolises this dual aspect which is based around reflection and action, language as a means of both acting on things and reflecting on things. The former is the 'ideational' component of meaning and the latter is the 'interpersonal'.

Society consists of participants but perhaps more important than the participants is the relationships they have, for these relations define social roles. Halliday again, (1978, p14), says, 'Being a member of society means occupying a social role; and it is again by means of language that a 'person' becomes potentially the occupant of a social role'. He continues to discuss (p21) the general functions of language, his first is most relevant to this programme and is thus worth quoting in full. 'Language has to interpret the whole of our experience, reducing the indefinitely varied phenomena of the world around us, and also of the world inside us, the processes of our own consciousness, to a manageable number of classes of phenomena: types of processes, events and actions, classes of objects, people and institutions, and the like'.

Bernstein, (1971) had taken this a stage further. He argued that in order to understand the social system you have to understand the crucial role language plays in this. He approaches this by considering the role language plays in the socialisation process and the more general social theory of cultural transmission and the maintenance of the social system. Cicourel (1969, p197), makes a similar point when arguing for a 'generative semantics' but from a slightly different perspective, 'that begins with the member's everyday world as the basic source for assigning meaning to objects and events'.

Saussure (1974) argues that the meaning of words derives from the structures of language and not necessarily from the objects to which the words refer. Meaning is created by the differences between related concepts which the rules of language recognise. Meanings are thus created internally within language and not strictly by the objects in

the world which we refer to by way of them. This may account for the variations in meaning over time and regions. There seems to be some flexibility then in how widely language may be interpreted.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz argue, (1988, p131), that the changing nature of communities affects the way people relate to each other, 'The old forms of plural society in which families lived in island-like communities, surrounded and supported by others of similar ethnic or class background, are no longer typical. In our daily lives we have become increasingly dependent on public services and on cooperation with others who may not share our culture.'

On this basis the term 'managing' can clearly have different levels of meaning and be relatively fluid. An analysis then in this context would suggest it is the differences that create the meaning and not simply the meanings as they appear at face value. For example, in the general definition of 'managing' above there appears two very clear differences in the language itself. Firstly, between, 'To bring about successfully,' and, 'attempt to bring about successfully'. Secondly, between the negative and the positive aspects associated within the meaning. The spirit of the application of both is perhaps the final dimension to the differences. What matters then is not the literal meaning but the differences. Here the older people who are Economically Fragile use the term 'managing' differently from the so called 'normal' understanding of the term. This approach has its origins in the structuralist approach to sociology and anthropology (Levi-Strauss, 1958).

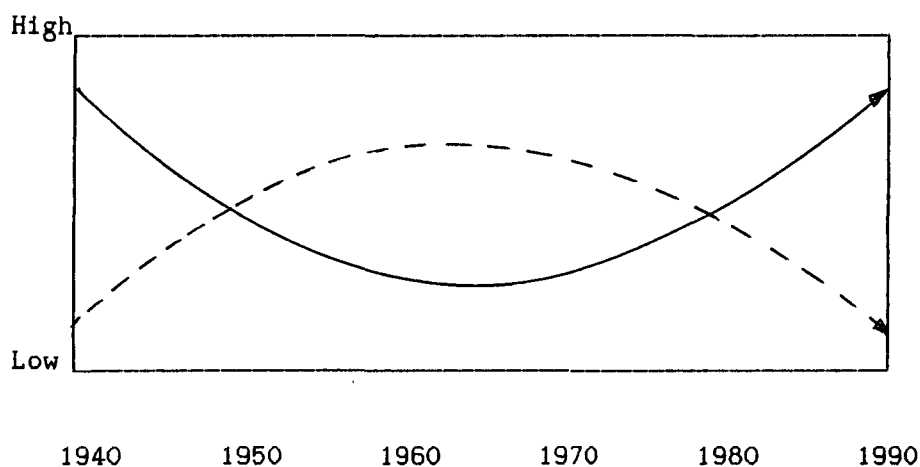
It seems then that this different use of the term managing when seen from the perspective of the Economically Fragile group can be viewed in two ways. Firstly, the term 'managing' does mean only existing on a day to day basis with no prospect of a positive future. Secondly and perhaps more worrying, the underlying meaning could be the exact opposite of the more normal understanding of the term managing. The term can be used as a defence and a coping mechanism in a way that obscures the everyday realities of the low level of existence in which

these older people live. It forms the basis of a rationalisation, a good reason but not the real reason of self-description. To face the reality would probably result in these people acknowledging they are not managing or coping, it is a way of repressing or ignoring the unpleasantness of a day to day existence.

This issue of a coping and defence mechanism can be pursued even further, albeit on a more speculative basis. The age of these older people and their consequent life histories may be of fundamental influence here for the developmental path of the current older generation's consciousness. For example, the legacy of coping, managing and getting by throughout two world wars will probably have influenced the psyche of the entire generation irrevocably. The idea of complaining during those times would have been interpreted on a scale somewhere between whingeing and treason. Set this next to the Protestant ethic and its influence there appears to be little likelihood of older people of this generation speaking in explicit uncoded messages about how they are not coping in their lives. On the contrary, there have been very strong socialising elements in these older people's upbringing and experiences that suggest that just the opposite happens. The harder life becomes, the more it becomes a greater test of personal resolve and endurance in the context of a Dunkirk-like spirit. The role of the welfare state here becomes more complex to understand. However, this may be explained by how, over the past ten years, it has been wound down by the Government's consistent stance and actions over this period based on the assumption that the country cannot afford it and that it is not the State's responsibility anyway. To oppose such Governmental action and advice thus becomes very difficult for some people of the older generation. It puts older people in an invidious position. On the question of opposing the winding down of the welfare state they can be interpreted as opposing the Government and challenging the 'good of the country' notion, thus being guilty of exhibiting a disloyalty and personal selfishness. If they do not challenge and passively accept the winding down of the welfare state and the consequent diminishing of resources they will exacerbate the hopelessness of their personal positions.

Diagram 1 expresses this below. What can be seen is two paths over time of 'Coping levels in adversity' and 'Future Life Chances'. It can be seen that the 'Coping levels in adversity' and 'Future Life Chances' of war-time existence, are, for Economically Fragile older people now being reflected in a similar way at the beginning of the 1990's decade. The more materially prosperous 1970's represents the opposite position of high Future Life Chances and the low levels of coping mechanisms required.

Diagram 1



Key: ---- = Future Life Chances  
 — = Coping Levels in Adversity

The postulation above is discussed in the context of creating another hypothesis, although the testing of it remains outside the bounds of this thesis.

Moving on from the above postulation, of course older people should not have to 'manage' in a welfare state. However, for these older people, ie all the groups in the Economically Fragile population (eg lone men, lone women, couples), and some in the non Economically Fragile group (eg house owners where their houses have become financial mill-stones), this has been their experience within the current operational circumstances of the welfare state.

The nature of the present welfare state is thus important. Currently it is underpinned by industrial capitalism, requiring the constant expansion of production and a perpetual increasing of wealth. The total cost of the former, and not only in financial terms, and the distribution of the latter are the subject of considerable debate. This is essentially a political debate. As Giddens (1989, p643) says, 'activities of political leaders and government officials constantly affect the lives of the mass of the population. Both externally and internally, political decision-making promotes and directs social change far more than in previous times'. This includes economic growth and the style in which it is undertaken. The state then has a high level of influence on both 'the system' and the individuals within it.

This type of large and societal issue seems far removed from that of the meaning of language, a small and secondary issue in relation to the main body of this programme. Although there are many variable concepts which make up the socio semiotic theory of language, varying from the text itself to the situation and social structure, it does play an important role.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1988) argue that with an ever increasing polarisation of society misunderstandings and misrepresentations happen. They then suggest, (p 131), 'When this situation persists over time, what starts as isolated situation-bound communication differences at the individual level may harden into ideological distinctions that then become value laden, so that every time problems of understanding arise they serve to create further differences in the symbolization of identity'.

Although language plays a role in social processes this perspective, from a language base, does itself exhibit a certain amount of indefinite identity, by definition. However, for the purposes of this programme it does further illuminate the understanding and meaning of some of the questions that have arisen from the data created and its subsequent analysis.

Perhaps this one example of how the word 'manage' is interpreted may indeed be symbolic of other influences and therefore has a place in contributing to current debates about how older people have been socialised by society and what role they currently play in it. How the capitalist state treats older and Economically Fragile people, for example, by appearing to discriminate against them economically (see 10.1(a) and 11.1 above), has to be questioned. This group of older people respond, not surprisingly, negatively to their treatment with the curious and perverse exception of some of the women. Although symbolic interaction can exhibit limitations when dealing with more widespread structures and processes its very concentration on small-scale meanings and interactions can be symptomatic and indicative of more large-scale processes. Examples in this programme would include how older people establish their own personal identity within a capitalist welfare state or how this same state massages the Economically Fragile older people to the margins of society. Both start from very small beginnings; from these small beginnings connections occur and interactions between them take place, so that a wider process is then underway.

#### 11.4 Theory Generation.

The interpretation of the data up to this point has involved transforming the data into more tangible concepts and ideas concerning the effect upon older people's lives. A departure will now be made from this stance at this juncture in the thesis because the next part of the discussion has to be seen in the context of laying the foundations and setting some benchmarks upon which Part IV will be based.

One of the chapters in Part IV (15) will be focussed primarily around exploring the relationship between two concepts. Firstly, the existence of some older people's personal life spirals (The micro concept), and secondly the way in which the capitalist welfare state in its present form marginalises and manipulates certain groups into

problem populations (The macro concept). This relationship has evolved throughout the research programme as being of major significance. The identification of a predictable career path/pattern ensues.

These two concepts will now be examined here, individually, prior to the discussion in Part IV ('Discussion of Policies: Their Impact and Alternatives').

#### 11.4 (i) The micro concept: Personal Life Spirals

(See Appendix - Figure 1 - The Impact)

The social environment in which older people exist does not appear to be a random mix of events and actions. Patterns emerge, some of which are based on relationships with other people and some with their local and wider community. To understand these connections and probable regularities the concept of social structure is used to inform these. The actions of older people are influenced by the structural characteristics in the society in which they are raised but at the same time they also recreate the very same characteristics in their own unique and personal actions.

Within the data creation the four phenomena of Economic Position, Resource Eligibility, Personal Worth and Future Life Chances were identified. Additionally the concept of Economic Fragility was identified and subsequently developed into an important variable for the research programme. When the inter-play was considered between the Economically Fragile concept and the four phenomena further concepts and phenomena duly evolved.

Firstly, a certain sequence appeared between the phenomena, as outlined in the four stage process above, but it was linked in a specific sequential pattern. Crucially however, the first and fourth stages can also be connected (See Figure 1).



Secondly, new concepts emerged regarding the pervasiveness of economic factors and how gender became a discriminatory factor for some older people. This was the case with a small group of men, but perhaps more significantly for this programme, was also the case for lone economically fragile women.

Thirdly, a new phenomenon was being generated that could perhaps be developed further at some later date, that surrounding the use of language. Here, what the term 'managed' meant for one group of people could mean almost the opposite for another person or group of people. Clearly this term has many differing contexts in which it can be used, and a variety of roles and functions it can perform, but perhaps most importantly, it can have several different meanings including some that are ambiguous.

Taken individually the concepts and phenomena can stand on their own merits. However, when taken together, and their complex and entwined nature unravelled, relationships clearly exist and a more substantive set of complementing and supporting inter-related evidence can be observed. The circular structure can be made sense of, indeed, it can be strongly suggested that a theory can be identified that may take account of such a chemistry of concepts and phenomena.

A sequential path of events and experiences appears to take place for individual older people depending upon both their economic position and gender. This could probably be extended to whole groups of older people. This sequence is circular in form. This is based on the four original phenomena that were identified with the added dimension that the Future Life Chances feed the Economic Position thus completing the circle. It is underpinned by the concepts of economic fragility, economic pervasiveness, gender differentials and further supported by the notion outlined around language.

In essence this suggests that older people who live their lives on this basis have a very different and much more negative experience than those who are outside this cycle. The theory of the personal life

cycle for this research programme identifies a discriminatory process that directly affects some older people's lives.

There appears to be 'a less of everything' principle relating to the four phenomena. The less money an individual starts with appears to influence how many resources these people may be allocated by the current welfare state. If a person is poor an irony appears to occur that they are less eligible. Perhaps this is a consequence of more responsibility being placed on the individual and a diminishing role in resource allocation being taken by the welfare state. There appears to be an implication of the 'poor' being punished. Self-esteem and personal worth are consequently, and adversely, affected which appears to influence the amount of future life chances and choices that are available to such people. This position suggests that subsequent opportunities to change the personal economic circumstances of individual older people are thus distinctly limited and the circular cycle starts again.

These restrictions upon life style in effect give less liberty to older people who experience their lives in this way. A paradox arises here because it appears that some people are being imprisoned within their own community where they should experience more liberty.

Proponents of the current Tory Welfare State Ideology suggest there has been a movement towards the existence of more choices being available for consumers of such welfare services when they experience these services in the community and not in institutions (ie Community Care Legislation of 1990). This appears to have been turned on its head by the experiences of the economically fragile older people in this sample. For they experience fewer choices in their lives, fewer resources and are discriminated against on the basis of gender and economic position. They experience a continued reduction of an absolute right, that of their individual liberty. The above argument supports this view.

#### 11.4 (ii) The macro concept: Political Social Control of a 'Problem Population'

(See Appendix - Figure 2 - The Process)

It can be argued that there are deliberate manipulative attempts by some members of the current capitalist welfare state to push some older people to the margins of society. But for what purpose?

Although there are many aspects to this debate the most fundamental one is that the nature of capitalism relies upon the basic competitive and profit-orientated premise of the mode of production. In mid 1990 this system was again under strain generally with difficulties around inflation, balance of payments deficits and the balancing of the public expenditure accounts. The proportion of the Gross National Product that is spent on welfare compares unfavourably with fellow E.E.C. member countries France and Germany. The entry into the European Monetary System is not the panacea it was once thought to be and the Department of Health is under pressure specifically to reduce its proposed expenditure promises as outlined in the White Paper 'Caring for People' so that poll tax levels may be kept down. Will this fiscal crisis in 1990 be transformed and influence the context of a crisis for social regulation?

It is these very strains and struggles between the 'old' (pre-White Paper) and the 'new' (post-White Paper) and between competing social forces and alternatives which makes the present era of transformation and reconstruction of welfare provision so important.

One of the many casualties of the welfare state, in the interests of keeping capitalism on the rails was the recently passed Community Care legislation, both its timetable for implementation and its resourcing. In July, 1990, there was backsliding by the minister, Kenneth Clarke, on both (included in the brief chronology App 9). Both changes were based on economic expediency by his own admission. At the Bournemouth Tory Party Conference in October a leaked government document

suggested that Clarke was to yield further ground, in the course of round in the annual public sector expenditure negotiations with the Treasury, and was about to agree further cuts in the Community Care budgetary allocation.

Therefore the political climate in mid 1990 appeared to be a mixture of volatility and pragmatism in relation to community care but with the underlying intention of attempting to maintain the political status quo, that of a capitalist system.

Why is this happening? This is very clear, it is linked directly with how the present proponents of welfare provision interpret their responsibilities in the context of a capitalist welfare state. But how is it happening? What are the consequences? What is the social significance? Can a process be identified? These issues require further exploration.

Political contradictions appear to be present in the very ideology that underpins the NHS and Community Care Act, 1990. Hudson, (1990) comments, 'It is useful to distinguish between changes and supply-side structures. Ideally, "New Right" ideology seeks a demand-sided structure characterised by unsubsidised individual purchases and a supply-side structure which is competitive and privately owned. The White Paper implicitly acknowledges that in community care there is very limited scope for reform based on unsubsidised individual purchase. A publicly funded service is inescapable, and therefore demand-side reform inapplicable'.

This appears to be a contradiction for a New Right government. It does not appear to have reconciled the privately owned supply side with the state funded monopoly. The Griffiths Report suggested a demand subsidy that would leave the way open to consumer led reform. For a White Paper that is actively promoting choice and independence for consumers of the service it appears to be a deliberate flaw, a gap in the rationale. A 'custom and practice' ethos with its lack of coherence will probably fill the vacuum.

When this contradiction is identified at the centre of the ideology on which community care is based, it clearly has the ability to affect its implementation. However, when it is considered in the current climate of resource re-allocation and re-distribution because of the ideological starting point, especially the shift in who is to do the caring - emanating primarily from the 'Griffiths Report' - and the pragmatic financial restrictions imposed by the state, the outcome of possibilities for community care appears problematic.

The state's tentacles in relation to the new community care ethos - as influenced by Griffiths - are long and wide ranging. Community care legislation affects large bureaucracies that include Area Health Authorities, Social Service Departments and Voluntary Organisations. At the other end of the spectrum it affects all types of individuals both receiving and giving care. In short, it offers a specific philosophical approach to welfare provision. In reality however, the resourcing of the provision remains unclear, muddled and difficult to identify. Tangible planning and budgetary allocation by L/A's for community care therefore still remains difficult.

The result of this for some older people appears to be that they are on the receiving end of an increasingly difficult task for L/A's of identifying what community care means at the point of resources allocation and delivery. Community care itself does not yet appear to be the panacea after all. How can community care be implemented against such a background of governmental backsliding over resourcing and implementation? It cannot be implemented adequately and successfully in an environment of strained welfare resources allocation that is determined by the needs of the present capitalist state.

Where does this leave older people? Probably between two stools. Firstly, if community care continues to be implemented in its phased programme, and on the basis of a pragmatically elastic budget that does not match need, there can be little confidence that it will be effective. Secondly, if the community care programme is eventually

abandoned, because of the government's concerns, which fluctuate between the concern over incurring expense for programme provision and the concern over how foolish they would look if it went ahead and was ineffective, the poorer older people would be left with very minimal welfare provision. Which ever course is taken it does appear that both the providers and recipients of welfare provision have entered a phase that is difficult for both (Towards the end of the programme abandonment of community care is looking less likely more delays have been announced regarding Social Security transfers).

What happens to the poorer older people who cannot afford to make alternative welfare provision arrangements? It appears they would be pushed further and further to the margins of mainstream society. Vulnerable groups of people at the margins of society can live out their ascribed roles and will fit the language used to describe them.

One group of people who would be ripe for this categorisation, and in a sense disenfranchisement from mainstream society, are those older people who have been identified by this research programme as Economically Fragile. They will have been manipulated into a position which is paved with the 'good intentions' of being provided with welfare services, where they needed to be provided, but when in the position of need the services provider will not be in a position to deliver. The older people's needs will thus remain unmet. Therefore they have been manipulated to the margins of society and dumped in a position of isolation. They will have been encouraged to seek resources by government rhetoric and then let down. The expectation will not have been fulfilled and thus the older people will be very vulnerable at that point in the process.

This current scenario of the position with regard to welfare provision is reminiscent of that from the turn of the century. Garland (1985, p52), discusses the position from that period, 'Together, the agencies of penalty and the poor law operated to enforce a line of repression and exclusion against the lowest sectors of the working class. These sectors became 'outcasts', a 'dangerous class' excluded from the

political community and unrepresented in the dominant ideology - a social danger posing a problem of management and domination.' Although it is not very plausible to regard poor older people as 'dangerous outcasts', the similarities of keeping 'certain classes' in their place and in the margins has similarities with this research programme.

This view of social control is not necessarily outside the understanding of those individuals caught up in it. But from where they stand in relation to it the idea of challenging such a position is problematic and additionally fuels the premise that individuals have to provide for themselves. For some older people this will simply be a Hobson's Choice. This conflicts with government rhetoric of much more choice being available; for if more choice remains available with resources not matching need, this is experienced as a confusing paradox.

For those people who can provide welfare for themselves this may be satisfactory, however, the development of a two tier system can be projected. Again this is reminiscent of another era when a two tier system operated based on differentiating between the worker and the non-worker. Garland (1985, p140), says 'Every scheme of social security, from Booth and the Barnetts to the Webbs, Churchill and the New Liberals, proposed a similar strategy. Again and again, we find a system of inclusion and security for the respectable, disciplined and regular worker, played off against a measure of exclusion and segregation for "the unfit", the "unemployable" and the "degenerate". The discrimination is plain to observe'.

For Economically Fragile older people who require welfare provision the future looks distinctly unattractive. They, as a group, will probably be experiencing their lives from the margins of society having been manipulated to the side. Initially this will have started on an economic footing and ended up as being of social significance to them. They will consider themselves a burden to the state, because that is what the capitalist state constantly implies to them, and they

will be viewed by both themselves and mainstream society as a 'problem population'.

A similar conclusion can be drawn as that for the Micro theory concept. Some of the older people in this sample are liable to be excluded and will experience a feeling of imprisonment within their own community.

#### Tensions between the Macro/Micro experience

To move from a symbolic interactionist view at the micro experience to the socialised view of 'problem populations' within the macro experience inevitably highlights tensions and contradictions. It is the very nature of these tensions and contradictions that are of importance to this programme. The relationship between the respondents micro/macro worlds and their interdependence is explored in chapter 15.



## CHAPTER 12

### Limitations of the Programme

It is likely that the limitations of this research programme are like those of many others, they are probably both technical and conceptual. However, the entire learning process for the researcher is one of the core elements for the programme being undertaken. Therefore the stance of this section of the thesis is one of a 'critical review and evaluation' ranging from specific parts of the instruments that were designed to the overall perspective that the programme adopted. The purpose is not simply to search for flaws in the work but also to identify, in an attempt at objectivity, the strengths and deficiencies within the thesis.

This programme probably falls into a category somewhere between that of Evaluation Research; (Arkava and Lane, 1983, p192), where the primary purpose is to furnish the investigators with information with which they may judge the worth or quality of the topic under study, and the ethnographic approach. The latter attempts to study the totality of a phenomenon in greater depth and in its natural setting, to understand it from the point of view of those involved in it, as explained by Sapsford and Evans (1984). They state (p259), 'Where "causal" hypotheses are tested, it is most likely to be analytic induction, and the hypotheses themselves are more likely to be based on the actors' own perspectives than would be true of other research styles.' However, there are also elements of a 'critical ethnographic' approach (Harvey, 1990, p11) which attempts to 'link the detailed analysis of ethnography to wider social structures and systems of power relationships in order to get beneath the surface of oppressive structural relationships.'

Rossi et al (1979, p21), state that investigators undertake evaluation research projects for, '....management and administrative purposes, to assess the appropriateness of programme shifts, to identify ways to improve the delivery of interventions, and to meet the requirements of

funding groups which have fiscal responsibility for allocation of programme monies.' This programme falls within these bounds but has also undertaken to test a hypothesis at the same time. Whether the results of the assessment and testing of the hypothesis would remain unchanged if performed by another researcher remains difficult to predict. However, in the current rapidly shifting sands of Community Care social policy it is unlikely that similar circumstances will be available to explore. This will be expanded upon later in this section.

This phenomenological and interpretive approach can be argued to be the programme's biggest strength (Harvey, 1990, p12). It is able to identify social meaning and any subsequent interpretive explanations have taken account of what the people involved feel and think about it. People are not regarded as 'helpless puppets', (McNeill, 1985, p111), even though, as this programme suggests, pressures exist for them to acquiesce to such expectations.

It can be argued that emphasis upon these methods relies on the high validity of the data created, and that this may be obtained at the expense of the data's reliability. This remains a widely documented and well rehearsed debate. Both of these aspects will accordingly be commented upon here.

It is to be acknowledged, as Rose (1982, p140) does, that a framework of questions is necessary for evaluating research reports but he emphasises that it is, 'a framework for the presentation of the reader's analysis, rather than an inflexible step-by-step procedure.' Here, pertinent questions have been asked of this programme and the comments presented under the following headings.

#### Evaluating the Introduction.

Walker (1985, p184), says, 'Qualitative research is rarely tightly structured in advance'. This programme is no exception. However, as its starting point the policy context of Community Care surrounding

older people was used. The researcher's original embryonic ideas about this go back some years but they came to something of a head in 1987/8. The research programme was probably conceived at that time. Then it was of course impossible to predict the way in which Community Care would move into the political spotlight, although the researcher thought it a possibility having observed similar policy processes as orchestrated by the present Government. Council housing and education policies are useful analogies where the original stated purpose of the change was either not genuinely intended or got lost in the change process.

At the outset, a balance was hoped for in policy development somewhere between enough to comment upon but not so much that there was a danger of submerging. The latter has been the case but this has been used in a way to support some of the arguments that have been presented. It has also been described here as grappling with the 'shifting sands' policies of Community Care. This mass of policy and the changing nature of its content, for example the fiscal issues surrounding it, have proved difficult to keep pace with and also to prevent it from disorientating the programme. This has in some way been dealt with by differentiating between the macro and micro issues involved.

#### Evaluating Research Methods.

Perhaps the three biggest factors influencing the research methods have been: the political context of the Community Care Policy; the nature of the research, in that it started from the perspective of older people; and finally the ironing out of some of the methodological problems at the 'Preliminary Review' stage.

The original context has been discussed above but this is continually evolving and thus changing. By the end of the programme there may have been a shift in political position by the Government, or indeed a change in Government, therefore the context will be quite limited to 1988-91. After that the context may have changed.

This programme grew fundamentally out of older people. The researcher provided the vehicle, which was the research knowhow to operationalise the ideas with which to achieve the programme, including much conjecture initially about ideas.

During the 'Preliminary Review' and the discussion around 'Final Decisions about Sampling' much detail was included about the design and appropriateness of the instruments. There is no point in repeating that here except to say that they appeared to stand up to the rigours of the programme. They evolved from the respondents and their subsequent data. However, it is worth reflecting on perhaps three decisions that are linked: the defining of Economically Fragile, replacing the term working class with Economically Fragile and the consequence of these changes on the hypothesis.

The term working class became impossible for this programme to operationalise (See 'The emerging social class debate', Chapter 8), therefore a more tangible and independent variable was sought. The term Economically Fragile evolved from the data as it became clearer that economic issues were the key differentiating factor for the programme. This was generated and reflected, generally, by the older people's experiences. Those people who did not have additional income from their state pensions and benefits then became the cornerstone of the programme - the Economically Fragile.

This then had to be reflected in the hypothesis being tested, therefore the term working class was replaced by the term Economically Fragile. This hypothesis was then found to be able to withstand the scrutiny of testing, whereas when it was based on the term working class it was not able to do so.

There is only a small number in the sample; forty underwent the full process from beginning to end, therefore not much safe statistical inference can be drawn from the numbers. The type of analysis used may have been too heavily statistical - the use of percentages - for the

data to justify. Nevertheless, other suggestions and claims can be made around the causality discussion below.

The snowball sampling method is much less systematic than some of the other methods available, (eg social surveys). However, although a snowballing sample cannot claim to be representative it did provide a method of locating the respondents in an ethically sensitive manner, because it was always by personal referral. The respondents always appeared comfortable with the researcher. As older people were being sought, without classification, (the classification of non/Economically Fragile followed afterwards), this did not appear problematic especially as no respondents refused to participate in the programme. It can be argued that it was somewhere towards being a representative group especially as it reflected the 50/50 national trend (Social Trends, 1987), between older people who have to exist in their retirement on State Pensions and Benefits and those who supplement this with other financial means.

Judgmental data recording was difficult to overcome but with the use of tape recordings and other notes taken at the time of interviews, including observations about the setting and whether these contradicted the interview data, the principle of triangulation was employed (See chap 6). Perhaps where judgments have been most difficult to compensate for has been in the coding. Strict ground rules for the programme were established, for example, to avoid duplication of counting positive or negative references in the transcripts, or to avoid coding an ambiguous term. This proved a strain for the researcher to try balancing the need for 'good science' and the desire for the programme to 'succeed'. On reflection the researcher probably erred on the side of 'good science' in an endeavour to be 'objective' about the methodology and searching and rigorous nature of enquiry. Where there was doubt about classification, references were omitted. However, the well-being of the researcher has to also be a consideration throughout such episodes. 'Peaks' and 'troughs' for the researcher throughout the coding procedure were encountered. Was the hypothesis going to be

supported or not? These are times of high anxiety for researchers. But for this programme supportive supervisors were an important component in the backup support network.

The recording of data and its transcription, coding and summary was very time consuming although the collapsing of the original 20 coding categories to 4 made a big difference after the first 9 respondents. From the original starting point of the researcher being given the name of the respondent, through the preliminary meetings, the interview itself, the transcribing and the subsequent coding took approximately 12 hours per respondent. This accounted for about a year's work on the programme on a part-time basis. This excluded travelling time and the development of the instruments and coding procedures. Although this was time consuming it was in part felt by the researcher to be justified in view of the long-term aims of the programme.

Some aspects could have been done differently. Coding could have eventually been carried out directly from the tapes of the interviews but when in transcript form they became more versatile. For example, the researcher was able to read the text and therefore get a better 'feel' of the data. The transferring of data into percentages perhaps caused some loss of accuracy, because of the small numbers involved, but it appeared the most expedient technique for comparative purposes.

#### Evaluation of Analysis and Interpretations.

With the respondent's needs being of the utmost importance to the programme, starting with the respondent therefore, seemed both necessary and positive. Jones, (1985) suggests a triangulation where she notes the value of repeating the process of categorization basing it first on the tangible concepts of the respondents and then on the wider policy agenda. The interview schedule follows this process.

Glaser and Strauss (1967), have compared several approaches to the analysis of qualitative data according to whether they are most

frequently used or they are more appropriate for theory generation or testing. Others argue (eg Rose, 1982 and Ford, 1975), that when this is undertaken in practice each approach involves elements of both theory creation and testing.

Tactics for testing or confirming findings (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p230) have been borne in mind, considered and used. Miles and Huberman outline twelve such ideas, some of which have been employed by the programme. Examples include triangulation, checking for researcher effects, weighting the evidence, using extreme cases and looking for negative evidence.

It can be argued that when respondents are seen in their 'natural setting' the influence of the researcher in structuring, analysing and interpreting the situation is present to a much smaller degree than would be the case in more traditional approaches to research. However, critics of this suggest that people in their own setting only possess detailed knowledge of a particular sector. In an attempt to deflect such criticism the joining together of the macro and micro concepts for joint enquiry is intended. This will be pursued further in Part IV.

Bulmer and Burgess (1986, p242), argue that, 'Analysis of the role of concepts in empirical social research has been to a very considerable extent neglected, both a symptom and a cause of the gulf which continues to separate sociological theory from sociological research.' In Myrdal's words (1961, p273), 'Concepts are spaces into which reality is fitted by analysis'. Concepts have been used by this programme to enhance identifiable phenomena, these same concepts are then amenable to having their interrelatedness explored. However, Bulmer and Burgess sound a cautionary note (1986, p249), when discussing the dual character of concept formulation in the analysis of sociological data, 'It involves both the levels of theoretical abstraction and empirical observation, however those are defined and conceived. And it exemplifies par excellence the Kantian dictum that perception without conception is blind; conception without perception

is empty. The development of fruitful concepts in sociology proceeds neither from observation to category, nor from category to observation, but in both directions at once and in interaction'.

Although it has been noted that this programme started from the respondents' views, these views in the form of data have been through some form of metamorphosis under the stewardship of the researcher. Initially the concept of Economic Fragility evolved, soon followed by the four further linked concepts of Economic Position, Resource Eligibility, Personal Worth and Future Life Chances. A suggestion was made that the linkage took place in a circular fashion. These were entwined by the concepts of Pervasive Economics and Gender interpretations. Finally the phenomenon of the influence of language and its development was considered. It does appear that the original operationalising of social class, and its subsequent rejection and required change, generated other concepts and findings.

In October, 1990, the translating of abstract concepts into a theory or further questions seemed initially straightforward but on further reflection this process was very slow, difficult to unravel and complex. However, from this position Part IV of the thesis emerged.

#### Evaluation of other aspects of the Thesis

Sapsford and Evans (1984, p270), in their suggested checklist for assessing research reports ask the question, 'What has been learned from the paper?' They list 10 points. In a sense so much has been learned by the researcher, the points are too numerous to mention. Perhaps though, and most importantly, the findings may lead to a more informed basis for understanding some of the processes affecting older people.

In conclusion for this part of the thesis probably the biggest debate still centres around the validity/reliability issue. The programme's validity is its biggest asset and its reliability is its biggest deficiency. Arkava and Lane (1983, p22), perhaps settle the issue for



this programme, 'In its broad sense, validity denotes the extent to which a test measures or predicts that for which it was designed. In other words, validity is the most basic and perhaps the most important single attribute to measure. In contrast, reliability says nothing of the worth of a measure. A measure can be perfectly reliable, but unless it is also valid, it may be worthless'.

The specific type/s of validity and causal connections between variables are explored more fully in Part IV.

What can be said positively about the programme so far can be summarised as follows: Firstly, the emerging data has clarified the clear and carefully arrived at identification of concepts and their measurement. The indicators and concepts are linked, like the relationship between theory and data. Secondly, the identification and specification of such concepts has not been an ad-hoc or simple process. Bulmer and Burgess (1986, p261), suggest, 'It requires the exercise of the sociological imagination. If concepts are not adequately specified, then their use in empirical research is likely to be reduced.'

Thirdly, the comparing of concepts, variables and indicators continues throughout the remainder of the thesis seeking links between a causal hypothesis and explanatory variables. Fourthly, the setting and context of the concept development has been firmly based in the here and now of older people's lives and the 'shifting sands' of Community Care social policy. This stating of the overall context thus helps to make sense of any findings and how they may be used.

### SUMMARY - PART III

This part of the thesis, with the exception of the 'Limitations' discussion, appears consistently to highlight a paradox of the present government's welfare policy provision when considered from the community care perspective. There has been much governmental rhetoric about 'more' welfare provision being not only available but distributed. The Economically Fragile older people from this sample do not experience the impact of such claims in their lives. They experience welfare provision where needs are not matched by resources distributed.

Further, it has also been identified and argued that for Economically Fragile people a crucial relationship exists, which is both invidious and insidious. This is the relationship between their personal life cycles (the micro concept), and the way in which the capitalist welfare state, in its present form, marginalises and manipulates these same older people to the margins of society as a 'problem population' (the macro concept). They are thus subjected to two different processes at the same time. Links and similarities in these processes can be made but it is probably the relationship between the two which is most important.

Perhaps most importantly in Part III of the thesis the data collection, analysis and subsequent interpretations appear to support the amended hypothesis at this juncture. That is: 'That the impact of current Social Welfare Practices and Policies reduce the life chances and options of Economically Fragile older people, effectively accomplishing their social incarceration.'

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#### INTRODUCTION - PART IV

In Part IV a wider discussion around the paradox of welfare provision will be elaborated as it appears the Government claims to be giving more resources and the older people are not experiencing it in this way (Chapter 13, 'Current Community Care Welfare Policies: The existence of a paradox'). Further, an analysis of the relationship between the micro and macro concepts will also take place and will be the main focus of the next part of the thesis (Chapter 14, 'The Impact of current Community Care Policies'). It is intended that these discussions will both develop further and enhance the generation of theory (Chapter 15, 'The current process of retirement for some people: some theoretical considerations'), based upon 'The Social Incarceration Spiral' (Figure 3).

From the further discussions, and within the context of Community Care, it is possible to identify predictable life patterns, careers and marginalisation processes; the development of a two tier system of welfare service delivery to older people based on their economic position; and finally some causal connections between variables linking these. This indicates further that older people are being entrapped, isolated and eventually incarcerated within their own community.

'Some alternative policy proposals' will be proffered (Chapter 16), before 'The Conclusion' (Chapter 17). The conclusion addresses the areas outlined in the preceeding paragraph.



## CHAPTER 13

### Current Community Care Welfare Policies: The existence of a paradox?

The focus of this chapter is the paradox between, on the one hand, the government rhetoric on community care, and on the other, the reality of the service delivery and those receiving those services. Although other issues like levels of state intervention are touched upon in the discussion they are done so only in the context of reinforcing the premise of the main issue. This discussion will address the issue in relation to older people, excluding those who have a mental illness.

'Rhetoric or reality' is a well worn phrase that always poses a fundamental question, whatever the subject matter. It will be used as a vehicle and tool for analysis in this context for exploring the notion of paradox.

At the time of beginning to write this chapter (18.12.90), further rumours were in circulation about the future of community care emanating from the increasing tension caused by Michael Heseltine's (The Minister of the D.O.E.), Poll Tax review. Rumours appear to be the very antithesis of academic investigation. However, rumours (Note 1) were plentiful in the corridors of Richmond Terrace, the new home of the DOH just off Whitehall, and the House of Commons regarding the possible further postponement of the implementation of Community Care Policies.

This was also noted elsewhere (Guardian Society - 20.2.91 - 'Caught between a rock and a hard place'), 'Now the gossip is once again all about a change of course. But this time the suggestion is not of a further delay, but of a wholesale U-turn that would rob local authorities of the pivotal role in running the community care system.'

This not only exemplifies the 'shifting sands' nature of the current implementation of Community Care Policy but also portrays the Government's pragmatism when trying to balance welfare provision

expenditure and Poll Tax levels. Rhetoric and reality appear to be confronting each other with the consequent conflict giving off unclear messages about expenditure on welfare provision in general and Community Care in particular. It begs the question: Is expenditure on Community Care provision so readily expendable?

In order to explore this in more detail, recent State Welfare provision will be examined in an attempt to identify whether received opinion, (ie. the White Paper - Caring for People - and other published intentions noted in the chronology), from the Government is contrary to the actual implementation of policies at the service delivery level.

As a prelude to the analysis of the current lengthy period of Conservative Government rule, firstly under Margaret Thatcher, and more recently under John Major's premiership, the legacy of postwar 'agreements' over economic and social intervention need to be considered.

#### Post-war agreement over Welfare

After Edward Heath's Conservative government (1970-1974) it was somewhat perversely the Harold Wilson government (1974-1976) that started an important shift, such that the interventionist state appeared to be, 'undergoing an abrupt and fundamental reversal of its whole direction' (Taylor-Gooby, 1985, p12). When Jim Callaghan succeeded Wilson the economy seemed to be out of control, with unemployment rising and inflation rampant. 'Economic crisis followed economic crisis and industrial conflict reached new heights culminating in the "winter of discontent" of 1978-9 when the trade union movement rejected government policies, particularly those on wage restraint, aimed at dealing with Britain's economic crisis' (Sullivan, 1987, p19). This period appeared to crystallise the debate around levels of state expenditure and economic intervention acceptable in modern times. It was Riddell, (1983, p59), who commented

about this period, perhaps somewhat ironically, 'if there has been a Thatcher experiment it was launched by Dennis Healey'.

Attempts to reduce the rise in public expenditure and to apply cash limits to public spending were made, (McLennan, Held & Hall, 1984).

The outcome of the application of those monetarist policies led to a reduction in state provision in welfare services, and many other public services (Sullivan, 1987). It appeared to be laying down the markers for the private provision and privatisation of some services, although this was never made explicit at the time.

This change of attitude towards state intervention, irrespective of the rationale, signalled a transformation and symbolic change which was to be grasped and applied through the 1980's by the Conservatives.

#### Breaking post-war consensus

The new Prime Minister and her colleagues, when elected in 1979, broke away from the postwar consensus period and started to follow the path of the radical right. Sullivan says, (1987, p21), 'The aim of the "new conservatism" was to shatter what was seen as the post-war consensus on state interventionism, mixed economy and welfare....Deliberate attempts were to be made to shift the frontiers between the public sectors of the British economy, to introduce policies which would stimulate private enterprise and to encourage the creation of a strong private sector in welfare.'

Those principles were also to apply to and underwrite other areas that had previously been the domain of the state. Everything from Industry to Welfare was going to be subjected to market forces and freed from the restrictions of the 'nanny state'. The rolling back of the welfare state was to take place and the responsibility for provision was to be returned to where it belonged, namely the individual, the family and the community.

At the beginning of the 1980's then, much was promised especially around the relationship between state and society and its underpinning economic principles. Contrasting positions were also outlined by many commentators, eg Leonard (1979), Gamble (1980) and Griffiths B (1983). Griffiths B in particular was most ascerbic in pointing out a contradiction about the proposed increase in individual freedom, saying (1983, p9), 'If society wants to preserve economic freedom it cannot predetermine equality which can only be achieved by coercion and therefore against freedom.'

Rhetoric was plentiful and the comparison with reality was the subject of much enquiry, not least more latterly by this research programme but also by many other commentators in recent years, eg Sullivan (1987, p21) and Bebbington and Charnley (1990). It can be argued that this method of contrast between the two positions of rhetoric and reality has further significance. Many of the Conservative policies appear to be susceptible to this simplistic method of analysis and critique which suggests inherent flaws and weaknesses in them.

The realities of welfare provision under Thatcher governments received much attention. Taylor-Gooby (1985, p71), discussed them in the context of 'cuts' and 'restructuring'. The change in the nature of welfare provision and the basis upon which it was delivered were significant. Curbs and cuts in public spending introduced welfare provision services to a new language, terms such as efficiency and productivity became the norm, private and public sectors were to tender for the same services in competition with one another. Some services which had formerly been paid for by the welfare state were having to be paid for by the recipients. Charges for services regarding welfare were transforming the relationship between the state and civil society. Some personal social services were being paid for, meals on wheels being an example, and sharp increases also occurred in health charges, eg dental and optical services.

Although there was a shift away from state intervention in social welfare delivery under the Conservative Governments during the early

1980's, in the second half of the decade there still remained a major contradiction between the aim of the rhetoric regarding state intervention, as outlined above, and the actual delivery of services.

There appear to be two elements of this contradiction. Firstly, the scope of state intervention appears to have remained fluid during this period and failed to match the previous heady rhetoric about its changing role. Secondly, the underpinning ideology was transformed into the two white papers, as discussed in Part I of the thesis. Political expediency and pragmatism appear to have overtaken ideology and the Government has failed to have the courage of its ideological convictions. Sullivan comments accordingly, (1987, p27, 'The welfare state has been cut, a not insubstantial degree of restructuring and privatization has certainly occurred. But, for whatever reasons, the rhetoric of a dismantled welfare state has not yet been matched by reality.'

Therefore the service provision reality that followed did not match the previous rhetoric. Central government got itself into a 'no win' position, for if its actions had followed the rhetoric there would have been further substantive changes and the development of a clearer two tier system of services based on the ability to pay, with all its many shortcomings. However, the government did not appear to follow its rhetoric to the letter and subsequently a hotch-potch of piecemeal provision is taking place which does not adhere to a clear underpinning ideology. In short, the government is attempting to have its cake and eat it, saying one thing and doing another.

Moreover, the continual inability of the Government to give unambiguous messages about the implementation of community care can only be interpreted as backsliding on their part. Whether this is by default or deliberate the outcome is the same for those receiving services; these services appear to be 'withering on the vine' and their take-up is being reduced. As was demonstrated by some of the respondents in Chapter 10.2, experiences of maintaining current levels of service become more difficult. An example of this 'withering' is

that when the Home Helps are on holiday, they are not replaced, (Respondent 11, (b) Resource Eligibility).

This is a very different prospect and contrary to the key components of community care as outlined by the government in 'Caring for People', (p 5), 'services that respond flexibly and sensitively to the needs of individuals and their carers; services that allow a range of options for consumers; services that intervene no more than is necessary to foster independence; services that concentrate on those with the greatest need.'

The poorest older people particularly, the ones who are unable to purchase services independently, are living through a contradictory and paradoxical period. In the language of the white paper they do not have the flexibility of options (the rhetoric), available to them and consequently their welfare service requirements and needs are escalating (the reality), fostering a greater risk of creating a dependency on acute service provision elsewhere in the health sector.

Whether 'The New Right' (Gray, 1984; Hayek, 1976; Friedman, M & R, 1980), completely succeeded in hijacking the Conservative party remains conjecture; what is clear however, is that this movement was influential during the early 1980's of Conservative rule. With the advocacy of a minimal state involvement in welfare provision and an increase in both personal freedom and responsibility, for which equality was to be sacrificed, the continuance of the welfare state looked seriously in doubt.

As a response reconsideration of the linkage between the concepts of freedom and the welfare state took place (Plant, 1990). 'The notion of citizenship was reinforcing the view that within a welfare state individuals needed more than just civil and political rights, economic and social resources were also necessary if they were to realise a form of citizenship that included an equality of civil and political rights that were enjoyed by others' (p 8). Social justice, including choices, rights and responsibilities of individuals, became a major

pre-requisite for a doctrine of citizenship that encompassed everything from basic needs to a modern day form of community.

This is in sharp contrast to Sir Keith Joseph's book on equality where he argues that 'Poverty is not unfreedom' (Joseph and Sumpton, 1979, p8).

Raymond Plant makes a counter comment some years later, (1990, p8), 'The welfare state embodies the idea that individuals have responsibilities to one another. The political recognition of these responsibilities and the collective action to meet the needs of all members of society embody a viable idea of community in the modern world.' A collectivist approach appears to be the antithesis of the proponents of 'The New Right' ideology.

Glennerster argues elsewhere (1990, p109), that 'What we are witnessing in Britain, I suggest, is not the rolling back of the welfare state, but merely an elaboration of the forms which government intervention takes - a process government hopes will enable it to reduce actual public expenditure.' The likelihood of that being achieved remains to be seen as no other European country has been able to significantly reduce its portion of gross national product in relation to welfare provision since the oil crisis (EEC, 1987). In fact the contrary position has generally been the case. What has changed significantly though has been the change in the nature of social policy where a rapid growth of the non-statutory and voluntary sector has occurred alongside private provision of welfare.

This research programme tackles and attempts to resolve or square some of the most complex debates and arguments around welfare provision and the meaning of the welfare state. Many others (eg Roos, 1973), have made admirable attempts. However, this programme does make a modest, albeit small contribution, to a long running and continuing debate, focusing on a particularly vulnerable group. This is the cue to bring the exploration of rhetoric or reality and community care back to older people.

### Community Care and older people: Rhetoric or Reality

Yet another examination of community care using the rhetoric/reality tool as a basis of exploration (Bebbington & Charnley, 1990), is very uncomplimentary about services to date with regard to older people (Note 2). Their quantitative and qualitative evidence of older people receiving both community health and social services - an important group if an integrated community care policy is to eventually happen - makes some negative comments in the summary (p 409). 'Assessment, determining services, and review were all inefficiently managed. Liaison was non-existent....There could be conflict over role....Innovations designed to tackle these problems remain limited in scale...'

Many differences still need to be resolved if the new hoped for plurality of welfare service, as espoused by Griffiths R, is to operate to the satisfaction of its recipients. The main bearer of this responsibility has to be the leadership given by central government and the climate in which it is asking service providers to operate.

Bebbington and Charnley demonstrate (p 428), 'how organizational fragmentation has resulted in the tasks of case-management being disorganized, to the detriment of the efficient use of resources and possibly to the well-being of individual clients.' Talk of positive collaboration and well integrated and consumer-led, flexible cost-effective services appears to be only rhetoric in light of the above evidence. The reality is very different (p 428), '...daily work at field level, where differing definitions of needs, pressures of budgetary constraints, staffing restrictions and so forth encourage protective self interest and attempts to off load on to other agencies or individuals where possible.'

Clearly issues such as these are both undermining and contrary to some of the central tenets and 6 key objectives of the White Paper, 'Caring for People' (1989, 1.11, p 5). The 6 key objectives are listed below (Note 3).



The Bebbington and Charnley research data example, as outlined above, does appear to be in stark contrast to two of the key objectives in particular, the third key objective: 'to make proper assessment of need and good case management the cornerstone of high quality care', and the fifth key objective: 'to clarify the responsibilities of agencies and so make it easier to hold them to account for their performance'.

The paradoxical element here is that inefficient and ineffective service provision will ultimately lead to a diminishing take-up of services and a consequent saving in expenditure levels. This furthers the cause of key objective four, 'to promote the development of a flourishing independent sector...' and key objective six, 'to secure better value for taxpayers' money...'. The reality currently appears to be that some key objectives are pulling in opposite directions and the latter two, as outlined above, are being met, but at the expense of the former two previously discussed. There appears to be an incompatibility about some of the objectives for they rest uneasily side by side.

There also appears to be practical difficulties in carrying out effective collaboration between service providers. Alaszewski and Harrison (1989), comment on 'the rationalist-centralist model of co-ordination that involves prescribed structures for collaboration' in favour of an increased emphasis on a pragmatic approach where joint working and 'negotiation' are undertaken.

This will inevitably lead to what Heginbotham (1990, p17), identifies when discussing the voluntary ethic and community care, 'the tendency will be there to maximise the use of free resources (families, informal carers and voluntary agencies), as a way of minimising cost...'. A disproportionate amount of this care is undertaken by women. Jane Lewis (1989, p 138), makes a similar point, 'while government rhetoric stresses family autonomy and thereby choice, little attention is paid to the actual preferences of family members.'

The premise of unpaid family care by women may have been agreeable to the aims and objectives of the Thatcher Government, for 'Women's work, particularly as unpaid carers in the home, is the bedrock of government policy on community care,' (Lewis, 1989, p 88).

Some people foresaw the necessity for this premise to be challenged. Firstly, (Walker et al, 1986), suggested that there was still untapped resources for informal care, but this had limitations. Moroney (1976) was even pointing this out as early as the mid 1970's on the basis of demographic data. Secondly, the position of women in relation to the provision of welfare is changing, causing Finch to comment that 'prospects for successfully re-drawing the boundaries between the state and the family in the provision of welfare are quite rosy' (Finch, 1989, p 163). Finch goes on to give four reasons for reaching her conclusion; the current generation have been reared on a different vision of the connection between women and welfare; public opinion has changed around the issue; an increasing legitimacy is being given to the claim that the marriage relationship is out-dated; and finally, there are important new questions emerging about relationships between generations.

Therefore perhaps the government's fallback position of relying on informal care for its community care proposals does ultimately rest upon a faulty premise and assumption.

The notion of choice for the receivers of services again appears to be facing yet another setback; to quote from Lewis again (1989, p 90), 'part of the rhetoric of Thatcher policy has been "consumer sovereignty"'. Perhaps the previous 'choices' available to women carers are about to become real choices, although with the diminishing public welfare provision and an increase in the influence of the market this notion has to be considered very cautiously. However, viewing this from another perspective it could very well be a positive choice available to women.

Other commentators have also picked up the rhetoric theme. Melanie Phillips in the Guardian (20.7.90, 'Dumping granny on the doorstep') discusses community care in the following terms, 'This is a policy that has disappeared up its own orifice... a government own goal... Its starting point wasn't the tender social conscience of government ministers but the incentive to save money. The social security budget was spiralling out of control because of the soaring cost of residential care payments.'

When the implementation of community care was postponed in July, 1990, and a phased introduction was put forward by Kenneth Clarke, the spiral looked set to continue until April 1993, when the social security part of the budget was to be handed to Local Authorities.

The financial pressure the government was under should not be underestimated for they were also having to postpone the implementation date of the new Children's Bill (Children Act, 1989). The lack of clarity about financial resourcing to local authorities was clearly impeding their planning processes and Clarke presented this lack of readiness by local authorities to proceed fully with community care in April, 1991, as a fundamental reason for his delaying the process. However, the continuing cost of social security payments to private residential provision perhaps symbolised most strongly the rhetoric/reality discussion. The financing of this aspect of community care is still not entirely clear and there is no intention for that money to be ring-fenced after that handover date (1.4.93). Therefore this issue will be explored in a little more detail.

#### Social Security payments and Residential Provision

In order to do this it is worth considering the historical legacy. Since coming to power in 1979 the Conservatives had decided that any older person who could prove they were poor would be eligible to enter private residential care homes at the public's expense.

This type of funding caused a gross distortion of the original cost saving aim and perverted forms of incentives arose. It encouraged older people entering these establishments to get rid of their savings and live purely at the state's expense. This subsequently evoked some dubiously motivated actions on behalf of some relatives. It encouraged some older people to give up their independence. It encouraged local authorities to place people in private institutions funded by central government, sometimes some distance from their original home, despite some cheaper initiatives in their own community but where the cost would have been incurred by the local authority. This all seemed in sharp contrast to how the funding for community care was to work, where the burden of expenditure should have fallen onto the local authority; instead there was also an implicit disincentive to local authorities to run their own residential care (Footnote 4).

These actions by Ministers were taken because they were working on the ideological premise and assumption that private care was better than public care. But costs became astronomical. In 1979 a total of £10 million was claimed via supplementary benefit by 12,000 residents who could not pay their own fees. By May, 1990, by then in the form of income support benefit, 189,000 people claimed £1,27 billion (Henwood et al, King's Fund, 1991). Eventually when this annual bill was reaching £1 billion the most loyal ideologues reluctantly agreed to a new and changed form of funding. Limits were imposed and the money currently being paid out by the Department of Social Security was instead to be channelled through local authorities and distributed on the basis of several elements of need. Initially this implementation was to have taken place at the beginning of April 1991, but will now commence in April 1993. Kenneth Clarke gave the reason for this as the need to keep the level of Poll Tax in check.

Ironically only a few months before the postponement at the February meeting of the Association of County Councils Social Service Committee (27.2.90, London), the committee was hearing that local authorities had been 'set up' by the government to fail the test of implementing community care policies because of the fast pace and the absence of

information as to how they would have to fund their new community care obligations. The DSS budget that was to have been transferred for residential provision was clearly identifiable as an absolute sum because it had been in existence for some years.

The subsequent defeat for the government in the House of Lords when an amendment was successfully passed to ring-fence money intended for community care, did not deter it. In the Commons on 27th June the amendment, and a backbench Conservative revolt, was defeated. However, the government's victory did not hide the reality that reforms were seriously under-resourced. One commentator at the time (Murray, 1990), when noting the invidious nature of the local authorities' position used the Queen of Hearts and Alice analogy and thus observed, 'It takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else you must run twice as fast as that!'

A new problem arose after restrictions were placed on social security payments to private residential homes. An ever increasing gap is growing between the cost of providing care and social security limits. In some cases local authorities are making up the difference but there are some cases of the private enterprises collapsing and a danger existing that some older people face eviction. Clearly local authorities cannot sustain filling this increasing shortfall in social security payments and simultaneously finance wider community care plans.

It seems a further irony that if the Lords amendment about ring-fencing had been accepted by the government some of the difficulties over the allocation and practical implementation of financial strategies would have been resolved. At the Standing Committee Debates on the NHS and Community Care Bill in the House of Commons (Community Care - News - 1.3.90), Kenneth Clarke argued that it would not have been right for the government to hand over responsibility for community care to local authorities but still retain the right to take key decisions on priority. Perversely, that is exactly what he did by default. Both the responsibility and accountability were given to

local authorities but they were unable to make decisions, because the budgets still remained with central government; therefore local authorities could only fulfill some of their statutory duties and had little choice about other priorities.

At the beginning of 1991, the junior Health Minister, Virginia Bottomley told the Association of Directors of Social Services that there was no excuse for not proceeding with the first stage of the government's delayed community care plans for their budgets were set to rise in 1991/1992 by 23%, (Guardian, 12.1.91). An inconsistency exists between this statement and Kenneth Clarke's over the rights of local authorities to prioritise their duties and work.

Perhaps it becomes clearer that the original aim of the community care White Paper was not a philanthropic and altruistic commitment to keep (in the context of this discussion), older people in their homes but a cynical manoeuvre to reduce the fast increasing costs of private residential care.

Some local authorities such as Somerset and Cheshire (Comment - Community Care - 17.10.91), are trying to circumvent this process by disclosing intentions to hand over their residential homes to newly created non-profit making companies. This would have the effect of allowing the residents to continue claiming financial benefits that come from central government, although this may only be possible in the short term (See also Note 4).

It appears that a climate has been created in which a game of financial brinkmanship and trickery is being played out between local authorities and central government. It is unlikely that central government will let the Somerset and Cheshire plans go ahead but it does portray that central government are very prescriptive and when a local authority attempts to respond creatively the 'goal posts' are moved yet again. The notion of good quality care and welfare service delivery seems to have been left behind within the respective financial manoeuvrings between central and local government. Bob

Bessell (1990), comments accordingly, 'The most obvious victims are the clients... They will bear the full brunt of the lack of effective planning, where the only gainers are likely to be the newspapers calling for inquiries into individual tragedies and academics amassing data for further theses.' A move away from the DSS/private residential care issue is now necessary.

#### Blame and counter-blame: Community Care - a turbulent future!

One of the fundamental shifts that has taken place throughout the posturing and blame and counter blame, about who is really responsible for funding community care has been the dawning of the reality that it is no longer being considered a cheap option by either part of the governmental systems. Murray (1990), sums this up from the local government perspective, 'All the signs are that they will do what they have learned to do so well over the past decade: somehow or other to cope, and try to do innovative work, while ground between the stones of increased legislative obligation and diminished real resources.' Local authorities appear to have little choice in the matter.

The notion of ring-fencing entire budgets, or just portions, given to local authorities is still being proposed and is included in a Labour Party policy document, 'A Fresh Start for Health', 1990. This is not a purely party political issue for such Conservative MP's as Nicholas Winterton believe in this approach (Winterton, 1990), '...I can only describe as the gross irresponsibility of the Secretary of State in refusing to "ring-fence" local authority funds for community care to prevent them being chipped away at...'

How then are we to evaluate what has happened to date in community care reform and implementation? Some examples of this practice exist already (Palfrey et al, 1990). However, these tend to be at the micro level of service provision to clients and are discussed in the context of meeting objectives and measuring the effectiveness of the service.

The local authorities themselves are in a more ambiguous position for although most of these have 'good housekeeping' practices, as supervised by their directors of finance and ultimately the Audit Commission, they are still having to make plans about community care with indefinite budget totals. To put this another way round, and in the context of central government, it is like asking Ministers to run their departments without the guidance and boundaries of the Chancellor's Autumn statement and subsequent Spring Budget. A Minister's position would be untenable in such circumstances. A useful reference to be borne in mind by the Minister of Health is Gareth Morgan's 'Living with contradictions and managing flux' (1986, p264). His advice is to develop a system of thought that analyses tensions between opposites from which new levels of understanding the world unfold.

After the furore subsided following the announced delay for community care in the summer of 1990, by late February 1991, the rumours alluded to at the beginning of this chapter were diminishing and the phasing in of community care looked likely to go ahead as opposed to the alternative complete phasing out. Anxieties about the Poll Tax levels still abound with their consequent effect upon local authority budgets. Some commentators observed that after John Major's election as the new Conservative Party leader (Wistow, 1991), the future of community care looked a little safer, 'The process of "de-Thatcherisation" which has rapidly followed, potentially creates new opportunities for the fulfillment of that commitment.'

This political shift could be reflected in other areas too. For example, as discussed earlier the spiralling social security budget for residential care could be halted. An intervention of this type and the subsequent transfer of responsibility and resources from social security to social services would have the dual effect of placing local authority expenditure on a finer footing and of targetting services on the basis of need, which would have resource allocation on a finer footing too. Both these objectives are quite likely to find favour with the current government.



Gerald Wistow suggests this should be carried out in April, 1992. This programme suggests it could start in October, 1991 (A time now passed at the time of submitting the thesis), halfway through the financial year, with an announcement of intention from central government in the spring of the same year. Wistow comments about his view, 'This course would not only enable ministers to back-up fine words with effective actions. It would also provide a real opportunity for central and local agencies to break out of the stop go cycle into which community care has been locked for too long.'

This interpretation also serves the purpose for this discussion of providing the government with an opportunity to balance the rhetoric with the reality and to propose that the cornerstone of any policy change has to be the resource implications.

In this chapter Governmental rhetoric and the perceived reality have been compared in relation to current community welfare policies. Not only have differences been observed but the existence of a fundamental paradox between reality and rhetoric has been identified. This appears to be the case on several counts, and this is by no means an exhaustive list: contradictions exist around state intervention and in relation to the key objectives within the white paper, the position of women, the on/off nature of implementing community care and finally regarding the social security payments to private care.

This discussion provides the framework for taking a closer look at how the respondents of this programme experience this paradox.

#### Note 1

The researcher had personal contacts in those two locations who shared their understanding of the 'factual' nature of the rumours.

#### Note 2

This study, undertaken in Kent by Bebbington and Tong investigated the management and delivery of care for 176 older people receiving both

community health and social services. Both are based at the Personal Social Services Research Unit at the University of Kent.

#### Note 3

Government's 6 key objectives for service delivery: -

- i to promote the development of domiciliary, day and respite services to enable people to live in their own homes wherever feasible and sensible.
- ii to ensure that service providers make practical support for carers a high priority.
- iii to make proper assessment of need and good case management the cornerstone of high quality care.
- iv to promote the development of a flourishing independent sector alongside good quality public services.
- v to clarify the responsibilities of agencies and so make it easier to hold them to account for their performance.
- vi to secure better value for taxpayers' money by introducing a new funding structure for social care.

#### Note 4

In a similar vein Hertfordshire County Council, which is Tory controlled, has had a confidential assessment of its 34 old people's homes by management consultants. The leaked report suggests leasing the homes to the private sector where three tiers of care would be provided. 6 homes will offer privately funded residents a 'premium service'. The second tier will offer a 'medium priced' service for people whose state benefits could be topped up to meet the fees. Finally, residents with only state benefits as a resource, would receive another level of care at the 'bottom price'.

## CHAPTER 14

### The Impact of current Community Care Policies

(See Figure 1 - Appendix)

What impact does this paradox surrounding older people and community care have upon their lives? It is difficult to untangle and is probably best explained as a dialectical series of events and actions that have taken place - and continue to take place - in a continuing theme of evolving policies, crises and politically pragmatic amendments.

For the purposes of this thesis the researcher decided to explore the 'Impact' to inform the identification of a 'Process'. This means that a substantive body of evidential material can be examined which will lead to the identification of a process.

The main emphasis of this chapter will rest with those older people who have previously been identified earlier as being economically fragile. From this approach follows an exploration of poverty although some of the points made are not exclusive to poor older people only. For example, some of the changes in Social Security legislation around pensions and benefits are explored with a view to examining the position of both the cared for and the carers, most of whom are women. The emerging inequalities are further explored via the position of 'carers'. Finally the stop-go nature of the community care implementation is considered in relation to what the government says about choice for service users.

How then do the people in this programme experience the paradoxical impact of community care? More and more material is being produced to address the issue of poverty and old age. Walker (1980), with many others (Townsend 1979, Phillipson 1982), has shown that a very large group of older people live in poverty or on its margins.

### The 'Underclass'

Since then there has been the further development of the concept of the 'underclass' which at the outset of its development was a major line of demarcation within the working class between the ethnic majority and underprivileged minorities (Giddens, 1989). This concept originated in the United States, where it applied to the class of individuals who exist right at the bottom of the class system and primarily consisted of people from ethnic minority backgrounds. Both its use and credibility are gaining ground and it is now receiving more widespread recognition in this country (Field 1989, Mann 1991).

Macnicol (1987), in his exploration of the concepts history 'In Pursuit of the Underclass' says versions of 'the general concept of an inter-generational "underclass" have figured prominently in social debates during the past one hundred years' (p293). However, he is somewhat cautious about the concept, describing one of its features as 'it tends to be supported by those who wish to constrain the redistributive potential of state welfare and it has thus always been part of a broad conservative view of the aetiology of social problems and their correct solutions' (p316).

This aspect of concern has been addressed in chapter 13 (Joseph and Sumption, 1979), but it does not necessarily detract from other useful insights the concept has to offer.

This 'underclass' perspective of class is less selective than the Registrar General's and does not conflict with the views on social class as proposed in chapter 8 of this thesis. It would therefore be useful to explore the ideas contained in this recent literature and to consider their relevance for the findings presented in this thesis.

Giddens describes the underclass in this country as experiencing, '...markedly inferior conditions of work and living standards to the majority of the population. Many are among the long-term unemployed, or drift in and out of jobs. In Britain, Blacks and Asians are

disproportionately represented in the underclass' (Giddens, 1989, p221).

Field develops this still further and directs some aspects of his definition specifically at older people. Before looking at the membership of the underclass he looks at the causes which he describes as being in four areas (p 2-3), '...the effect of unemployment...the scope of class divisions (increased polarization)...excluding the poor from rapidly rising living standards' and finally, 'a significant change in public attitudes. This has led to a psychological and political separation of the very poorest from the rest of the community.'

Another commentator, Mann (1991), approaches the issue from another perspective. He argues, drawing on the ideas of a social division of welfare, that divisions are 'made' in the disorderly attempts by people to escape the trench of poverty.

Field sees the underclass as being recruited from three groups of people, all of whom he sees as being very poor claimants who are dependent on welfare and for whom he sees no prospect for improvement if current policies continue. These are firstly, the long-term unemployed, secondly, single-parents (those dependent on welfare), and thirdly, elderly pensioners (Field, 1989, p4-5).

He sees the final group as, 'totally dependent on their old age pension and income support. None of them has any occupational pension; many of them in the worst housing conditions, and their income does not adequately compensate for the extra expense arising from the disabilities that accompany extreme old age' (p5). This is close to the definition of the 'Economically Fragile' that arose from this programme's data in 1989 (Chapter 8), but, perhaps more importantly, it has a similar spirit of approach.

Although Field considers some aspects of gender, as described above in this chapter, he refrains from identifying it as a fundamental aspect

when discussing inequalities, unlike some other commentators (eg Peace, 1986). The data from this programme has already suggested that a relationship exists between the two. Some of the reasons for this need to be explored further if there is to be the identification of a clearly tangible link or relationship. We need to discover what are some of the important aspects dictating different experiences according to gender.

### Gender and Wealth

Parker (1980), suggests that workers' job histories are important influences on their attitudes and behaviour at the time of retirement, and that differences in the histories of men and women produce different responses to retirement. However, it has to be remembered there is a less obvious change in the retirement of older women as they still have to work on in the home, so their feelings of 'job loss' will be different but for a rather paradoxical reason; they will continue in unpaid 'employment' and men retire (This was discussed earlier at the interpretation of data stage, see Chap 11.2).

One important factor that remains different between men and women who have been employed, and it is acknowledged that many women do not undertake paid employment, is the occupational pension. But before that can be considered the myth needs dispelling that women are marginal workers. The Women and Employment Survey carried out by Martin and Roberts (1984), compiled histories of women aged 16-59. It showed that, on average, women worked for 65% of their potential working lives, and all the trends suggest that this will increase over time because of the declining birth rate. Women immediately prior to retirement age, 55-59, in 1980 had spent 59% of their time working - 43% full-time, and 16% part-time - in paid employment.

More men however, are 'economically active' (EOC, 1990, p11), than women. More women than men earn poverty wages when at work and continue in poverty when they retire. Other studies have shown (Zabalza et al, 1980), that the size and availability of occupational

pensions influence people's retirement decisions. In many instances occupational pensions are weighted against those in part-time work, and since many women spend all or part of their working life in part-time work their eligibility for an occupational pension will be of reduced value and suffer restrictions. Women are clearly distinguishable from men in this area (EOC, 1984, p93). The inequality over occupational pensions can dissuade women from early retirement, but even in retirement they receive an inferior pension and consequently have a different type of retirement experience. This still leaves a certain proportion of women who have not worked, or if they have, they have not been eligible for an occupational pension. This is the group of older people who fall into the category of the 'Economically Fragile'.

It seems that via several routes older women, particularly, are encountering financial inequalities in retirement. Women's life patterns are undergoing change in terms of how they are socially constructed (Callender et al, 1988). The life cycles and life experiences of women are deviating more and more from the cultural 'ideal' of the past and from that being asserted today by the New Right both in Britain and the United States (Levitas, 1986).

Callender et al (p 27) say, 'These life patterns create and are based on women's financial dependency on men and the state.' This economic context places many women together, with some men, in lives of poverty that is interlinked with their self esteem and future life chances. This can manifest itself through poor health, emanating from, for example, a poor diet, and inadequate resources, such as poor housing.

Inequalities clearly exist in the retired population just as they do in all other groups in society. However, here we have seen that the concept of the 'underclass' and gender differentials, both inside and outside the underclass, affect older people in retirement. This programme is not going to suggest that the underclass and women are one and the same but what can be noted is that there will be a disproportionately high number of women in the underclass.

It seems that the concept of poverty is worthy of closer examination and scrutiny for it not only highlights many of the inequalities that are of relevance to this programme it also enables us to explore the close connection between poverty and age.

#### Poverty as an inequality

It is not necessary here to re-examine the origins of poverty and the major commentators, proponents and contributors to the debates around the issue. Some of that has already been referred to earlier on in the thesis. More interestingly in this context poverty is now more frequently discussed alongside the concept of inequalities (Giddens, 1989, 'Poverty and inequality'), for he says, 'Right at the bottom of the class system, large numbers of people in the United Kingdom exist in conditions of poverty. Many do not have a proper diet, and live in insanitary conditions, having a lower life expectancy than the majority of the population. Yet more affluent people often pay no attention to the existence of poverty' (p235).

Definitions of poverty have varied over time but what has remained consistent is the amount of vitriolic debate this subject evokes, not least for reasons of political expediency. One noteworthy change has been the different way in which poverty is now perceived. This has developed from the physical efficiency notions of the last century to the more recent ideas about social well-being based on the understanding that human needs are socially constructed and not purely physical and material. As Townsend (1979) says people in poverty are those 'deprived of the conditions of life which ordinarily define membership of society' (p915). What the main considerations are when attempting to measure poverty and to acquire a minimum standard of living remain hotly contested, and doubtless these debates will continue.

To speak then of poverty is to speak of inequality (Glendinning & Millar, 1987). Poverty has previously been closely linked to social class but this programme has already outlined some considerable



ambivalence over the view of social class, as discussed in chapter 9, but in recent years increased attention has been given to exploring the disadvantages that gender, age and race bring.

Poverty is pervasive, it affects all aspects of life, exactly in the same way as 'pervasive economics' was discussed in chapter 11.1. In a conversation about race and class as interacting oppressions Beverly Smith comments, 'When I think of poverty, I think of constant physical and material oppression. You know, you aren't poor one day and well-to-do the next. If you're poor it's a constant thing, everyday, everyday. In some ways it's almost more constant than race because, say you're middle class and you're a black person who is of course subject to racism, you don't necessarily experience it every single day in the same intensity, or to the same degree' (Smith & Smith, 1981, p 115). This view may well be challenged but it reinforces the linkage, interaction and interdependence of oppressions, issues that will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

#### Social Security and Poverty

What about poverty today in Britain? In contrast to the United States there is no officially set 'poverty line' in Britain but the level of income at which Supplementary Benefit (SB) [SB was replaced in 1988 by Income Support (IS)] allowances are obtainable is now widely accepted as a 'custom and practice' measure of poverty. Using the SB level as a standard and means of measure, and using the Government's own DHSS figures (1986), there were 9 million people, about 17% of the population, living in poverty in that year.

Townsend's own study of poverty in 1979, although it has been criticised for using too broad a notion of poverty, calculated that more than half of the population are likely to experience poverty at some point in their lives, and especially when they become older. Giddens comments on Townsend's study accordingly, 'yet his finding that relative poverty (Note 1) is much more common than was believed at the time has been widely accepted. The proportion of the population

living in poverty as measured by the SB line has increased, rather than declined since then' (Giddens, 1989, p237).

Who then, are the poor, as defined above using the SB definition? In addition to those previously outlined by Field some people in employment were so badly paid they were eligible for SB. But of more interest to this programme is that about half of all older people were living below the SB poverty line.

A variety of sources continue to identify 'The Poor' at the beginning of the 1990's decade. One such source, London Weekend Television, in the accompanying pamphlet to their series 'Breadline Britain 1990's', comments about older people who fall into their five groups of people who are most likely to be poor (p 10). 'The research suggests that one reason pensioners may appear to be at risk is that they are more likely to expect less out of life: they are happier to forgo necessities than the rest of the population. Pensioners who are single, particularly women, are more likely to be deprived' (LWT commissioned MORI to investigate people's views on what constitutes an unacceptably low living standard in Britain in 1990). This point about women reflects a similar interpretation put on some of the data from this programme in chapter 11.2.

A common theme throughout the various discussions on poverty, irrespective of how it is measured, is the consistent inclusion of older people amongst its membership. This is mirrored by an equal inconsistency on behalf of the Government.

For it can be argued, in an equally broad context, that there have been some marked U-turns in the Government's social policy under John Major's premiership. The introduction of an element of 'ability to pay' in respect of the poll tax and the increase and index-linking of child benefit are two examples. On the other hand after the 11 years in which the Thatcher government had redistributed so much money away from the poor and towards the rich, it would take more than a little tinkering with fiscal and benefits policy to redress the balance

(Hatchett, 1991, p 21). Issues connected with social security are of particular importance and relevance to older people.

During the Thatcher years (1979-1990) benefits like the state old age pension and income support were increased in line with inflation but this did not keep up with an increase in average earnings over the same period. This raises two important interrelated questions for this programme about the likely outcome and impact of recent government policies on older people. Firstly, have some older people become worse off during the Thatcher years? Secondly, during this period the government changed the way it measured poverty and the way in which the benefits system responded to it. Did this further confuse and obscure the reality in relation to older people and poverty? How did these two elements interact?

Prior to 1986, poverty was calculated by the Low Income Family (LIF) statistics being measured with the wealth of UK families against the level of SB. In 1986 this was changed in preference for figures showing Households Below Average Income (HBAI). This came about because, 'A review of the methodology used to produce the data was undertaken in 1986, the outcome of which was a decision by the Secretary of State that the measure of low income should no longer be against SB rates but against average income and fractions thereof. Another change was that information was related to decile groups (the population being divided into groups of 10%). This new series was called HBAI and the figures for 1985 were produced in this form as well as LIF form. The Government published both sets of tables in May 1988. In future years the Government intends to publish only the new, HBAI, tables' (Low Income Statistics, 4th Report, 1990, para 2).

This change had the potential for distortion, for example, the independent Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) found that in 1983 the Government's choice of current equivalised household income, rather than the normal family income as in the LIF tables, would reduce the numbers of individuals recorded as below 50% of average income from

around 5.5 million to less than 4.5 million (Johnson & Webb [IFS], 1989).

As Hatchett (1991) comments, 'The official HBAI results looked good until May 1990, when they were exposed as wrong by the Social Services Select Committee and 'corrected by the independent IFS....contrary to the government's previous claims for the "trickle down" effect (Note 2, this term is also explored more fully below, in this chapter), the prosperity of the poorest 10% of the population only increased by a tiny 2.6% between 1981 and 1985.'

As the Report itself states (Low Income Statistics, Fourth Report, 1990, para 12), 'The real increase in living standards for the bottom decile as measured in the HBAI tables is reduced to a third of what was originally claimed. Far from this group experiencing the largest increase in living standards, they have now been found to have had an increase over the period 1981-1985 of only half the average increase experienced by the total population.' Under the HBAI scheme of statistics a dramatic illustration can be identified, a large section of the UK became poorer under Thatcher.

But it is worth reflecting upon how the IFS became involved and the effect that this involvement had. The report was commissioned from the IFS by the former Social Services Select Committee so that an assessment could be made of the effect that the social security changes introduced in April 1988 had had. The government declined the Committee's request on such grounds but it did make the raw material available to the IFS. Consequently the IFS produced the tables on the Committee's behalf.

In April, 1988, major changes were made to the income-related benefits system to help priority groups, this included SB being replaced by Income Support.

The same Report shows that in 1987, 19.4% of the population were living on less than 50% of the national average income (after housing costs), an increase of more than half from 1979 (Table E1a) .

It is worth considering however, the way the government managed one of their many changes in the Social Security System. The IFS discovered that there were mistakes in the Department's HBAI figures published in 1988. The Secretary of State, then, and only then, acknowledged his concern about the risk of distortion arising from sampling errors (Fourth Report, para 13 ). The Social Services Committee then commented (para 10 ), 'We are disturbed, however, that these errors only came to light as a consequence of our decision to commission further work on the figures.'

It remains speculative as to whether this episode was just a simple muddle at the DSS or whether it has more sinister undertones around the massaging of statistics by a government department thus obscuring the embarrassing identification of the increasing numbers of poor and the relative lower levels of poverty.

A later Report by the Social Security Committee (First Report, Low Income Statistics: Households Below Average Income Tables 1988, Session 1990-91), using the same data from the IFS that the Social Services Select Committee had commissioned comments (para 8), 'At an aggregate level, the tables for 1988 continue the trend seen in earlier years of HBAI analysis, namely that of significant growth in real disposable income for the population as a whole, coupled with much smaller growth for those on lower incomes.' As might be expected pensioners fall into the lower incomes group. The Committee continues later on the same page, 'At the same time, the proportion of the poorest tenth occupied by pensioners rises from 17% in 1987 to 23% in 1988' (Table A2).

In its Conclusions (p viii) it outlines similar reservations about some of the data as the Social Services Select Committee had done (As discussed above). Paragraph 19 continues, 'The Committee reiterates

the observation of the Social Services Committee that HBAI tables give only a partial picture of what is happening to those on lowest incomes (X ref, Fourth Report para 4). For this reason, we recommend that the Government carries out a further analysis of Family Expenditure Survey (FES) data to produce LIF statistics for 1988, that is measurement of income against income support rates.'

It further acknowledges a widening of income distribution during the year and an increase in the number of households and individuals who were found to have incomes below half the national average (para 20, First Report, 1988).

However, perhaps the most poignant comment was, 'So that Parliament gains a more comprehensive overall view of numbers on low incomes in 1989, the Committee recommends that the Government publishes data in LIF form for that year when it publishes the HBAI tables' (Para 22, First Report, 1988).

What interpretations are placed on the data from the above two Reports by some parts of the media? Jack O'Sullivan, the Independent's Social Services Correspondent comments, 'A decade of Thatcherism cut real income of some of Britain's poorest people and gave many of them negligible increases, a Tory-controlled Commons committee reported yesterday. The report challenges government claims that the increasing wealth of the rich has trickled down significantly to the poorest. Cuts occurred as average incomes rose by nearly a third between 1979 and 1988' (17.5.91).

David Brindle, the Guardian's Social Services Correspondent, puts a similar interpretation on the data, 'The Government's social security shake-up has helped families but relegated more pensioners and single parents to relative poverty....showing a further widening of the income gap between rich and poor. In 1988, the year of the shake-up, the number of people living below half average income rose by 1.3 million to 9.1 million. In 1979, it had been 3.8 million. The income of the poorest tenth of the population grew in real terms in 1988....

Among this poorest tenth, the proportion who were pensioners increased to 23% from 17% in 1987' (17.5.91).

These interpretations were of no surprise to the EEC who published a Report in April (Final Report on the Second Poverty Programme, 1991) which found that between 1980 and 1985 the number of people in poverty in the UK increased - from 8.2 million to 10.3 million - by more than any other country in the community (COM[91]21, Final Report).

### Older People and Social Security

Where does this leave older people? It is possible to address the three questions posed earlier in this chapter: firstly, have some older people become worse off during the Thatcher years?; secondly, during this period the government changed the way it measured poverty and the way in which the benefits system responded to it; did this further confuse and obscure the reality in relation to older people and poverty? How did these two elements interact?

Some older people are living in poverty and their real numbers are still rising, according to the 1988 statistics. The changes in the benefits system, particularly those of 1988 appeared to confuse many, not least the DSS themselves, who, had it not been for the FIS, would perhaps still have been working from flawed data. These changes emanated from a change in how poverty was to be measured, of which both the Social Security and Social Services Committees were suspicious. The main Social Security changes of 1988 and the change in how poverty was measured in 1986 did not create poor older people, they already existed, and there does not appear to be a reduction in the numbers of poor older people since then.

This leaves ample room to speculate about the motive for these changes in relation to older people, for what perhaps started out as an exercise in 'moving the goalposts' to reduce the numbers of people identifiable as living in poverty, backfired, because the FIS exploded the flawed methodology. Instead the re-analysed data confirmed the

further widening of the income gap between the rich and the poor. In response to the Social Security Report, Michael Meacher, the Labour Shadow Social Security Secretary, commented to the Guardian that the Tory Government had 'deliberately manufactured a distorted and misleading picture' 17.5.91.

Although SB has now disappeared it is useful to go back to the mid-eighties in order to get a specialist analysis of poverty and older people without the disruption of benefit changes during the period. Even in 1981 just over one-third of older people were living on incomes at or below the poverty line and two-thirds of elderly people (5.9 million people) were living in or near the margins of poverty (ie with incomes up to 140% of the appropriate SB rates) (Walker, 1986, p196, referring to the Social Security Statistics, DHSS, 1983).

Joan Brown (1990, p 122), when discussing older people on SB says, 'In 1984 there were still 1.685 million elderly recipients of SB in Great Britain and 54,307 in Northern Ireland. These figures are for households and to obtain a full figure it is necessary to add dependent wives, (some under pension age), making a total of 2 million people.' The source is the Social Security Statistics, 1986. Brown adds (p 127), '...particularly those without NI pensions, tended to be very long SB recipients'. A study by Richard Berthound (1984) of the Policy Studies Institute, of SB recipients in 1982, found that 10% were in debt, 14% had borrowed in the past few months to make ends meet, 18% had been really anxious about money in the same period, 9% ran out of money most weeks and 24% did not have the full basic clothing, that is a warm coat two pairs of shoes and a complete change of normal wear. So much for the 'safety net' view of SB!

Some older people did not regard it as 'right' to take up SB even though they were eligible. The take up level was 67%, or in 1983 there was 750,000 older people with incomes below the SB level who had not claimed assistance (Hansard, 231, 30.10.86).



At this time occupational pensions were also growing in popularity. Approximately half of retired people had an occupational pension and this favoured men on a 2:1 basis (Government Actuary [GAD], 1983).

A later observation (Bosanquet et al, 1990) says, 'From 1988 onwards, people will be retiring with a full entitlement for twenty years of contributions under SERPS which, even on the amended basis with the pension based on average earnings on the best 20 years, will provide higher levels of pensions for many recipients' (p39). Although they point out that there will be little benefit for single women there is an improvement in the pipeline for younger widows who are increasingly likely to be covered by their husbands' entitlements but older widows will continue to fare badly. They also acknowledge that the lowest proportion of pension scheme members are in small firms and service industries and that these employ largely women workers.

Therefore a dual system of welfare provision for retired people has evolved, consisting of both subsistence and occupational funding. As Eric Midwinter of the Centre for Policy on Ageing comments, 'What we are currently doing is to construct a hideous dichotomy, which would make Karl Marx rub his eyes in astonishment, whereby the occupation-pensioned owner-occupier has drift further and further apart from the state-pensioned, municipally housed have-nots. It really is doubtful whether, over the next 50 or a 100 years, the social fabric will be able to withstand the strain imposed by the inner conflict' (Community Care, 16.5.91, p24).

#### Equity and the distribution of wealth

What then has happened to the equitable distribution of wealth and income under the Conservatives? This is a very broad question to address but what can be observed for older people during this time is a polarisation of economic inequality throughout period. As the different experiences portray, as outlined in this programme's data, there are very real differences depending upon the financial circumstances in which people find themselves.

It does not appear to be the case that these inequalities are disappearing, in fact the contrary position can be put forward as can be seen from the above discussion around the Social Security Statistics. Therefore the position that has been taken earlier in the thesis about the 'Economically Fragile' appears to manifest itself again here, but via the examination and exploration of the issue of poverty with its official statistical evidence. This has led, perhaps somewhat inevitably, to two levels of income being apparent for those in retirement which has a close association with the existence of a two-tier pension experience for older people.

Another important aspect of pensions, apart from the de-indexation of the pension from earnings by the Conservative government in 1980, is the view that is put forward in the early 1980's by official proponents that the incomes of pensioners have improved when compared against other groups who are living in poverty (DHSS, 1985, p12). Walker comments, 'Thus cuts in elderly people's benefits are legitimated by the myth that they are relatively well off, and that Britain may be actually over-providing for old age' (1986, p194). This may be seen as part of the belief in right-wing circles that British society has become too equal of late (Abel-Smith and Townsend, 1984, p6).

Retirement income is split between state pensions, occupational pensions or private insurance. The state portion of that represented less than 30% of the total (Reddin, 1984, p11); this figure thus clarifies the overall picture about the state pensions being a 'burden'. Moreover, the perceived 'burden' is the largest single element in public expenditure and has consequently received considerable scrutiny whereas the cost and effectiveness of the private sector, which consumes the bulk of the national investment in retirement income, rarely receives the same vigorous examination (Walker, p199).

It appears that inequalities between certain groups of pensioners, depending upon what type of pension arrangements they have for

retirement, are not only to be sustained but with the mounting fiscal expenditure advantages that the private sector enjoys (eg tax breaks), those who are left in the labour market without occupational pensions will further compound their disadvantage. This process of polarisation is leaving older people in one of the two economic positions that this programme has outlined. Walker has previously described this differential as, 'a recipe for private affluence for those with sufficient incomes and security of employment to benefit from the best occupational schemes and public poverty for those who have not' (Walker, 1980, p209).

### Margaret Thatcher and 'Thatcherism'

Why has twelve years of Conservative rule permitted such events? The ideology has been that the distribution of wealth and income in the country should be left to the free market; this was underpinned by policies that cut taxes for individuals and corporations thus stimulating economic growth, the effects of which would then 'trickle down' to the poor.

Margaret Thatcher, who was the leader of the Conservatives for the first 11 of those years, pursued such a policy, along with other component parts, so vigorously that it became known as her own personalised and customised 'ideology' of 'Thatcherism'. But whether it was a systematic body of ideas that could therefore be termed an ideology is a question often asked. One of the most lucid views of her approach is offered by Peter Jenkins ('After Thatcher, the end of ideology' 30.6.91), 'My own opinion remains that it was more accurately a style, a bundle of simple principles or prejudices laced with remarkable, single-minded determination...Grocery is not an ideology. What we called Thatcherism was a distinctive amalgam of some traditional Tory ideas - patriotism, sanctity of the family... - with others that had little place in the mainstream Tory tradition, for example, laissez-faire...'

What is perhaps then more possible to observe is not a complete ideology but a flawed, pragmatic and inconsistent cluster of ideas based on personality. Aspects of this 'ideology' were then more likely to fail than previous Conservative Governments because of its superficial nature.

The evidence supports this view in relation to the 'trickle down' effect, for the more the distribution of wealth and income has been left to the market the more it has had an inverse effect upon the inequalities found. The result has tended to expand differences between the rich and the poor with an increase in the numbers living in subsistence poverty (Giddens, 1989, p238).

It would seem then that certain sets of circumstances increase the likelihood of which type of experience individuals are going to have in their retirement. These can be described as career paths (Goffman, 1961), and will be expanded upon in chapter 15.

Moreover, in operating a consumer led society the Government has brought about a polarisation in income and therefore living standards, which can be observed in official data, as has been seen above, but it is also widening class differentials. As Field says when discussing some of the evolving notions above, 'Individually, none of these developments are responsible for the advent of an underclass. Taken together, with the rise of mass unemployment, the explanation becomes more comprehensive' (p100).

It appears necessary then to move from what were largely inferences, much earlier on in this research programme, to what is now a considerable body of evidence, in concluding that the membership of the underclass is synonymous with membership of the Economically Fragile group of older people. There is a consequent dis-engagement from mainstream society and a subsequent place on the margins of society. This will also be expanded upon in chapter 15.

What impact then is this currently having on older people living in the community? Before looking at the policy changes that have caused delays in implementing some aspects of community care, in order to offer another perspective on 'impact' apart from the one on 'poverty' that has already been offered, the position of 'carers' will be analysed

### Carers and Community Care

Why discuss carers here? Carers have a high profile in the Community Care legislation, a high proportion of carers are older people who are female and poor, as will be seen from the fuller discussion below. Some of the respondents in this programme are carers and some are cared for. Additionally, they can often be 'invisible' when discussions of this nature are taking place although as has already been outlined earlier in this thesis, some argue the Government's Community Care Policy rests upon women carers in the community. For this programme then they are seen as an integral part of the debate not only within the terms of reference of this thesis but also within the wider Community Care debates and issues.

What is caring, what do they do and who constitute carers? The Social Services Select Committee Fifth Report, Community Care: Carers (1990), usefully addresses these questions. In Paragraph 1 it reflects upon the White Paper 'Caring for People' stating '...the reality is that most care is provided by the family, friends and neighbours. The majority of carers take on these responsibilities willingly, but the Government recognises that many need help to manage what can become a heavy burden.'

The Minister for Health, Mrs Virginia Bottomley, told the Committee (Para 2), 'Five or ten years ago it [carers] was a word that people would scarcely recognise in common parlance, whereas now I think they are very much a force...the White Paper lays heavy emphasis on the importance of carers...Those six million unsung heroes have too often in the past given more than they could until they reached breaking

point...Although not enshrined in legislation, the role of the carers most clearly will be given the priority that they deserve? (Para 4).

The role of the carer is diverse and is not only practically based. The emotional strain can also be considerable when caring for a friend, partner, or relative. It is not unusual for a 24 hour commitment to be necessary with perhaps little or no thanks being offered to the carer. The types of deterioration taking place in people that they may be caring for can also be broad and may include emotional, physical, social or mental aspects. This can therefore lead to different types of effort being required depending upon the needs of the individual both receiving and giving care. Doing some shopping for somebody regularly is a very different task from managing a partner's dementia, the former may be described as a neighbourly and helpful activity, the latter as perhaps the work of a carer, although the definition of a carer is difficult to shape precisely.

However, the Government has described the contribution made by carers in the following way: 'Their total input was greater than the combined inputs financed from central and local government' (Caring for People, Para 8.11).

Similarly it is difficult to determine how many carers there are; this issue was outlined in the Report, 'In 1984 the General Household Survey identified around six million carers/helpers in Great Britain, of whom 3.7 million carried the main care responsibility and 1.4 devoted at least 20 hours a week caring. More than half of those spent more than 50 hours per week...The recent disability survey... (OPCS)...produced lower estimates of the number of carers: 4 million helpers/carers; 1.1 million main carers; 0.7 million who spent at least a few hours every day, or 20 hours per week' (Social Services Select Committee 5th Report, Para 11).

What is of particular interest to this programme is, who are these carers and what economic position do they find themselves in because of their caring role? Both of the above surveys agree that only about

half of carers of working age are working, this also suggests that there are many carers (somewhere between 300,000 - 500,000), below pensionable age without any income from employment (Para 14).

It appears that three quarters of unpaid carers are women with the most typical carer being a daughter or a daughter-in-law of the person being cared for; men more usually care only for their wives and a large proportion of carers are themselves elderly (Parker, 1990).

In a smaller study by the Crossroads Care Attendant Scheme ('Caring for Carers', 1990), where over a 1000 carers were questioned, similar trends were revealed in the section entitled, A Profile of Carers: Summary Points.

60% had been caring for over five years;  
83% were not in full-time employment, 54% had given up work to take on caring; 40% wanted to return to their paid employment;  
51% were 'just about managing' on their income; 7% admitted being on the poverty line;  
14% of sole carers were aged over 75; in total 53% of carers were aged over 60;  
66% of carers were women.

The Director of the Carers National Association (CNA), Jill Pitkeathley, told the Social Services Select Committee in evidence (6.3.90), 'Two-thirds of the carers who provide more than 20 hours care a week receive no help whatsoever at the moment...No help at all! Even fewer receive financial help but I was meaning help from a friend, from a social worker, from anybody! Two-thirds of those people do it entirely alone' (Social Services Select Committee 5th Report, 1990, Para 11).

When discussing financial help for carers the Director of the CNA continued with her evidence, '...the benefit system for carers is hopelessly inadequate - hopelessly so!...caring very largely takes place in poverty' (Para 72). When the Minister for the Disabled was

tackled about financial support for carers by the committee he said, '...the move towards a Carers' Premium is a significant move in the right direction. I would say it is not going to solve the problem...Frankly...weighted against the other priorities within the budget, we are giving as much help as we can manage at the moment' (Para 73).

The Invalidity Care Allowance (ICA) is the only benefit especially for carers who are not employed full-time (If a part-time worker's earnings do not exceed £20 they can still receive ICA, if exceeded the whole ICA is lost). It is a weekly cash benefit for people who spend a lot of time (over 35 hours per week) looking after someone who is getting Attendance Allowance; there is a variation based on need (Note 3).

Married women were originally excluded from ICA and a change in the law was directed by the European Court of Justice on the basis of equal treatment of men and women. Although married women are the main recipients of the ICA, the 100,000 claimants in 1988 represented only a sixth of the number of people receiving Attendance Allowance for whom carers could potentially make a claim (DSS, 1989).

Clearly the Benefits System is complex and the take-up rate may be low as a result of this. However, Carol Young, giving evidence to the Committee in an individual capacity said, 'The allowances are hopelessly inadequate, and particularly so the £20 earnings rule...Many single parent families actually are very keen to get back [to work] and need an existence other than just their caring pattern.'

Obvious shortcomings and inadequacies are associated with financial help available for carers. What did the Committee make of these?

Their recommendations were many, perhaps indicating how unsatisfactory the position is. In addition to these they expressed other concerns. '...We believe that major improvements in public support for carers are needed (Para 100)...Practical services for carers are however only



half the story. Carers also need financial help...we welcome the extension of ICA to married women and the planned carer's premium...financial help needs to go much further (Para 103). In the longer term, we believe that the proposals in the Community Care White Paper and their greater emphasis on informal care at home will require continuing extension of benefits for carers. The evidence we have received, and the experience of the ILF suggest there is indeed a large amount of unmet need (Para 107)...We believe it is vital that the benefits system acts to support carers, and that the social security system should be adapted to change it into a means of positively helping carers on whom much of the Government's community care policy depends' (Para 111).

The shortcomings for carers in the community appear manifold. As Michael Power said in a Policy Studies Institute Seminar (26. 1.83) it is a 'don't call us - call each other' approach. Or as Patrick Jenkin, the then Health Minister when responding in the Guardian to what he thought were criticisms of the then Community Care proposals said, 'It is not caring on the cheap - it is a way of getting a great deal more for our money' (The Guardian, 21.1.81).

The position then for carers does not seem to have changed much over time although it has to be said there are many more sources of support available to carers, examples include the Carers National Association (CNA), King's Fund and the Health Education Council. The TUC has recently produced (May 1991) a 'Charter For Carers', which was produced in partnership with the CNA.

Carers then, seem to suffer some of the same inequalities that were discussed earlier under 'poverty', although this is manifested in slightly different ways. This is not so surprising because some of the people are the same but clearly these two groups of people do not interchange exactly. The impact upon carers of community care can at best be described as, being taken advantage of and, at worst, naked exploitation.

More recently however, a fresh perspective has been offered. Finch's findings (1989 a), indicate that government assumptions about gender and divisions of care are to be challenged in the near future.

Finch discusses 'The proper thing to do' (p142) and 'Are kin relationships "special"?' in the context of 'Family Obligations'. This is at a time when government is making increased demands on families, via Community Care, to provide for those members in need.

A study of daughters caring for their mothers shows that the duty/affection feelings of caring are held 'in delicate balance' (Lewis and Meredith, 1988, p28). But Finch's work goes beyond this and develops her conclusions past the sense of obligation and connects these obligations with government policy. Firstly, she asks the question 'Can governments make us do more for our kin, or alter morality of family obligations, to fit their own policy preferences?' She concludes that if government keeps up the pressure the family become the first, rather than the last, port of call when assistance is required (1989 a, p243). Secondly, she points out that although many people will give in to sustained and unreasonable pressure, but equally, on the evidence of the past, many will not (also p243).

Therefore the notion of 'duty' for women carers is being challenged, as Finch has outlined elsewhere (1989, p163), and as discussed in chapter 13 of this thesis. These findings do however, make some future life options for some women appear less bleak. But the pressure remains.

#### Community Care Policy Changed and Older People

'Caught in the Act' (D. Townsend, 1991), seems a fitting starting point and appropriate euphemism when turning to consider what impact the community care policy changes have had upon older people.

However, the changes at ministerial level at the beginning of 1991 are also relevant to observe. William Waldegrave replaced Kenneth Clarke as the Secretary of State at the Department of Health but Virginia

Bottomley remained as the junior minister concerned, Tony Newton stayed as the Social Security Minister and Michael Heseltine rejoined the government as the Secretary of State at the Department of the Environment. As will be seen Heseltine and Waldegrave are key players in policy changes and both appear to be 'Caught in the Act'.

It is still being documented thoroughly that older people living in the community require their care and services improving. One of the most informative of these sources is a project that was carried out in Gloucestershire between June 1986 and May 1989. It was funded by the Gloucester Health Authority and the Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust and was undertaken by researchers from the Open University and the Policy Studies Institute. The main aim of the project, known as the Care for Elderly People at Home (CEPH) project, was to explore new ways to help elderly people at risk of failing to cope, to remain in their homes (Dant et al, Final Report, 1989, p1). An important assumption underlying the approach of the project was that for elderly people in particular, health problems are closely associated with their social situations and needs cannot be simply categorised as 'social' or 'medical'. They saw these older people at risk as needing a range of help covering a set of needs, both medical and social, that are particular to each person.

Perhaps the most relevant aspect of the Gloucester study for this programme is not what was said about care co-ordination or assessment through the biographical approach, important though these are, but how they saw support as being organised to meet people's needs. One of the three areas that they outlined was, 'advocacy in negotiations with the DHSS (now DSS) and other agencies' (Dant et al, Conclusions and Recommendations, p142). Clearly the research team observed that some older people required help and support to receive their deserved resource entitlements.

A slightly older report about deprivation in rural areas, which was commissioned by the Department of the Environment and the Development Commission (McLaughlin, 1985), is also useful to recollect because

firstly, it is based on a rural population, as was half of this programme's fieldwork, and secondly, some of the outcomes of the study are similar to those of this programme. And finally, it portrays how little things have changed in the intervening years.

As a caveat to his conclusions McLaughlin noted that the incidence of problems concerning welfare rights was highest amongst the lowest income households and the most prevalent problems were those relating to benefit entitlements (p292).

When considering, Who are the Deprived? and discussing Elderly Households in particular, the report identifies older people living only on their state pensions as the most numerically significant of the rural deprived (p295). It continues, 'In general sole female elderly households would appear to be more vulnerable to deprivation in a range of situations compared to sole male elderly persons who in turn are more vulnerable than elderly couples'. The report then notes that the comparatively advantaged two-person elderly household of today can quickly become the relatively deprived sole elderly household of the future on the death of one of the residents; in that context the elderly woman often emerges as most deprived, particularly in respect of personal mobility (p296).

#### The Stop/Go nature of Community Care implementation

In July 1990 Kenneth Clarke announced the phasing in programme of community care; at that time opposition to the community charge was running high and the Government was trying to keep local government spending in control. The announcement however, was met with derision and further fed the 'shifting sands' nature of the implementation of community care.

Earlier in this thesis (Chapter 13) it was argued that it was however, still possible to introduce the final part of the implementation in April, 1992, a year ahead of the Government's proposed April, 1993 date. (Initially it was argued for October, 1991, but that opportunity

has now passed). At the same time a similar argument was being proposed by three leading health and social policy research institutes. Delaying its introduction from April 1992, to April 1993, as planned will be damaging and costly, the institutes warn. The King's Fund Institute, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and the Nuffield Institute argue that to introduce the community care system, a year ahead of the revised schedule, would 'constitute a real opportunity for central and local agencies to break out of the stop-go cycle into which community care has been locked for too long' (Henwood et al, 1991, p20).

What are the detailed implications for such a delay in the community care timetable? The institutes agree that the general uncertainty about the implementation of the various features exposes itself in a number of ways. 'The momentum for change will, in many respects, proceed regardless of the delay but with greater uncertainty. Assessment holds the key to achieving the better outcomes... Assessment of need, not just assessment for service, is the critical shift local authorities must achieve' (p12). They continue, 'Without the flexibility provided by additional funding, needs are likely to be met by old service solutions rather than more imaginative new combinations... including eligibility' (p12).

The consequences for funding are clear. For social security, funds need to be redirected from funding residential care so that it can support the White Paper's central tenet of receiving care at home. Additionally, the charges on the social security budget by residential care are certain to keep rising; this is probably the opposite of the Government's intention, for it was concern about the rise in Income Support expenditure on residential home fees which prompted the Government to commission the Griffiths Report.

Other consequential examples of delay in implementing the social security changes are observed by the institutes; one of these five is of particular significance to this programme in light of an earlier part of the discussion in this chapter, 'new monies will not be

available to local authorities to support care at home and meet the need of carers' (p13).

In their conclusion (p16), the institutes re-emphasise four key points: central government was ill-prepared to implement the White Paper; continued uncertainties remain about the long term future of community care; most local authorities were ready for the changes, before the phased timetable announcement; financial pressures will not disappear.

Although this usefully sets the agenda for the continuing debate perhaps the most important question they raise (p17) is, will 1993 be different?

This leaves time for another general election, and indeed a policy U-turn, with the potential to phase-out as opposed to continuing with the phase-in. As we saw in chapter 13 Virginia Bottomley, the junior minister responsible for community care, made her commitment to community care unequivocally plain, as has William Waldegrave in June, (Association of Directors of Social Services [ADSS] Seminar, London, 13.6.91). However, in the meantime, social service planners are expected to do their jobs without knowing the likely destiny of their efforts, for the same question should also be asked of 1994, for another closely related factor in this complex community care equation is how central government sees the future of local government. As David Townsend, the Director of Social Services for Croydon, comments 'Mr Heseltine has made it clear he expects significant structural change to take place in 1994. That is just one year after the transfer of DSS funds - the biggest part of the community care programme - is to be achieved' (11.4.91).

#### The experience of Community Care

How does this discussion improve the understanding of how older people are experiencing the 'impact' of community care at the time of writing in mid 1991?

Ten years ago, in 1981, Alan Walker was highlighting the position of poor older people, 'Today just over one in four elderly people have incomes equal to or below the poverty line compared to one in twenty of non-elderly people. Altogether nearly two-thirds of the elderly, comprising 5.1 million people, live in or on the margins of poverty, compared with one-fifth of the non-elderly' (p74).

The situation has deteriorated further since then for the real value of SB, on which Walker's assessment of poverty was based has consistently been worn away by a variety of changes to the system. Two examples of the many changes can be given here; firstly, since 1987, a number of benefits are uprated every April according to the year-on-year increase in retail price index calculated the previous September. Many of these used to be uprated by inflation or average earnings but the Social Security Act, 1980, broke that link.

Secondly, The Supplementary Benefit Act of 1986, which was intended to further simplify the system, reduced the flexibility of the system to meet needs, with the consequence of effectively cutting some payments.

Dant et al comment in 1988 (Care of elderly people at home, Project 5, p19) 'Old people are often very used to living in poverty - they don't like to complain because they remember worse times and they are often frightened that getting attention will mean they end up being put away into a home.' Another point worth observing is the way in which some of the newer benefits are applied for, for example, the Income Support application form is 8 pages long and is not 'user friendly' for applicants, on the contrary, it is designed for computers and will certainly act as a deterrent for some potential claimants.

The White Paper 'Caring for People' placed great strength on stressing the need for services to be sensitive to the needs of service users, that is people who are dependent on some form of social and/or health care and those who care for them in their own homes. An essential element in this is 'choice' which the White Paper defines as 'giving

people a greater individual say in how they live their lives and the services they need to help them' (Para 1.10).

For older people living in poverty, and suffering the inequalities as outlined in the above discussion, the notion of choice must, indeed, be a hollow one, whether the person is in the position of being cared for, or is a carer.

The service users' ability to exercise choice is clearly limited by the range of resources available but the adequacy of the provision has received much criticism as the Social Services Select Committee found when taking evidence on the subject (Community Care: Choice for Service Users, 1990, Para 6). Further, the Committee believes that 'the question is not merely one of keeping spending on community care separate and identifiable: the actual level of funding is of vital importance (Para 8)...The Government must surely have made an estimate of how much it is intending to spend on community care: it should tell those who are going to implement the plans what that estimate is without further delay' (Para 15).

What can be identified here is the difference between the Government having a policy and resourcing that policy; the Government seem to have forgotten that community care was not a cheap option but an option to improve the quality of life for some people. The attempted sleight of hand to make it a cheap option is an inconsistency that probably accounts for the 'stop-go' nature of the implementation of community care. Moreover, this is clearly connected to how older people in the community, in whatever role, receive the outcome of community care.

Perhaps the Government would do well to heed the advice of one of its own watchdog bodies, the Audit Commission. It was saying in 1986 (Summary of recommendations, p13) '(i) There are serious grounds for concern about the lack of progress in shifting the balance of services towards community care... (ii) Fundamental underlying problems need to be tackled, if community care is to be translated from an attractive



policy to reality... distribution of finance... organisational... training... (iii) Radical steps will be necessary if the underlying problems are to be solved.'

At the beginning of this chapter the question was posed, What is the current impact of current community care policies on older people? The evidence and analysis from this chapter provide little room for optimism.

For a significant proportion of carers and older people, with a disproportionately high representation of women in both of those groups, inequalities continue. This is not a positive impact, but a negative one, as will be seen in more detail in the next chapter.

#### Note 1

Relative poverty is defined by reference to the living standards of the majority in any given society. Absolute or subsistence poverty refers to the lack of basic requirements, like sufficient nutritional levels in food, to sustain a physically healthy existence. The Council of Europe offers another perspective on poverty and uses the concept of the 'Decency Threshold'.

#### Note 2

The 'trickle down' effect is a belief that the wealth of the rich filters down to the poor, thus enhancing their financial position. This was a central belief within Thatcherism that justified the ideological position of the rich increasing their wealth.

#### Note 3

See 'Which Benefit? A guide to the Social Security and NHS benefits you can claim' (FB 2, from April 1991), in which ICA = £31.25, Attendance Allowance Lower Rate = £27.80, Higher Rate = £41.65.

## CHAPTER 15

### The current process of retirement: some theoretical considerations

(See Figure 2 and 3 - Appendix)

The structure of this chapter is twofold. The first part of the chapter has more of an emphasis on existing theory, initially social control of the 'lower orders' and a materialist analysis of that process, primarily from the macro view. This part will also involve micro considerations which will take the form of 'personal identity' and experience of class differentials. The second part, although also informed by existing theory, will create a new theoretical contribution based on the work of this programme; it will additionally draw upon deviancy theory and consider 'experiential journeys', career paths, the centrality of experience and 'experiential gaps'.

The main themes throughout this chapter are firstly to contribute to sociological analysis with an emphasis upon a political perspective, the key issue of social structure (macro concept) being fundamental as a means of identifying inequalities. Secondly, social action will be considered with a view to exploring what the 'subjective' experience (micro concept) might be for some older people in the context of the current social policy climate.

In this programme some of these issues have been approached in parallel and, if not, conceptually or broadly theoretically, then empirically through the analysis of data from the programme. Two different sets of principles of social organisation, the macro and the micro, may be operating; the dependence, independence and inter-dependence of these principles will be explored through the micro/macro medium.

It is argued elsewhere (Fennell et al, 1988, p170) that there is a neglect of old age in sociological analysis. The authors identify a battery of concepts that has been developed for handling social

conflict, industrial unrest and political struggles and conclude that these have a limited application to older people. Additionally, social class is also specified as an example, 'This has been a major intellectual problem within sociology, but straightforward class categorization and analysis often seems to collapse when applied after retirement age. By and large, class theorists have not seen fit to grapple with the theoretical and conceptual issues involved in integrating older women into models based on economically active males.'

Further support to Fennell's view is given by Kohli (1988) who says, 'The sociology of ageing has often turned to general sociology in search of useful theoretical approaches, but there has been little cognitive influx back into general theory. By this one-sided relation, the sociology of ageing has typically constituted itself as an applied field.'

The position is changing however. Recent contributors made in the spirit of Fennell's desired approach to old age include Turner (1989), Ginn and Arber (1991) and Henrard (1991).

This programme will be a modest contribution to overcoming those previously identified shortcomings but it does not distance itself entirely from all of Kohli's observations, for example the comment that: 'Much of the literature has so far failed to connect with the key issues of social structure. The relation of the age stratification approach to the questions of class, for example, is still mostly metaphorical; it is not yet substantively articulated with the main theoretical concerns in the study of social inequality' (Kohli, 1988, p374). While social structure has become a key issue for the programme some of the 'evidence' has been used metaphorically but then this has been 'substantively articulated' by the older people themselves.

Walker (1981) has emphasised the links between poverty and social status after retirement with income and occupational status beforehand. However, as Bowl observed in 1986, '...elimination of such

work-based inequalities would be in direct contradiction to the primary capitalist values of the work ethic, monetary incentives and individual independence.' Clearly the material dependence on these unequal pensions and savings is itself a result of the emergence of compulsory retirement. Thane, (1978) notes this as an important element in the experience of poverty in old age.

The influence of gender here has shifted from a position it held some years ago, although it is difficult to attribute a precise number to those years probably because it has been 'for ever', from simply 'experiencing' inequalities to being an 'exemplar' of those inequalities in the early 1990's. There is ample evidence available to support that view, as this thesis has demonstrated.

Cooper and Pitts (1989) give a more encouraging and positive view of where critical sociology currently stands, '[It]...recognises the fractured nature of social relationships - fractured by inequalities of power and opportunity, by systems of socially legitimated meaning which consign some sorts of people to the centre and some to the margins of society.... Everybody can be potentially whole, but some will be more whole than others' (p 25-6).

Here it is becoming clearer that in setting out to identify inequalities it becomes necessary to undertake an analysis of social structure. Kohli goes further and says, '...inequality refers to location in the social hierarchy and to access to resources and life chances...to the social relations that arise from this location, and thus power and status...' (Kohli, 1988, p374).

Although there is a framework in which inequality may be located this is subject to change; thus a process takes place which continues to change the structure and the structure influences the process. This dialectic is discussed in more detail below in relation to Figures 2 and 3, (see Appendix).

The notion of inequality then does appear to be of paramount importance to this programme and is a notion upon which much depends. However, there are strong supporters of such inequalities, 'The justification of greater inequality propounded by today's Thatcherites is the classic economic-liberal doctrine that freedom for entrepreneurs benefits those (for example workers thrown on the dole) who appear at first sight to be less free; or it benefits them more in the long run than direct transfers of resources from rich to poor' (Rentoul, 1987, p75). A typically glib response from Mrs Thatcher is, 'You are not doing anything against the poor by seeing the top people are paid well.' (Newsnight, BBC Television, 30.7.85). Existing in a world where the powerful continue to create the climate of inequalities has therefore received 'legitimacy'. Tawney comments accordingly, 'To convert a phenomenon, however interesting, into a principle, however respectable, is an error of logic.' (1931, p40).

Treating economically fragile older people as one amorphous group has its disadvantages but to get a sense of 'process' for this entire group, who, according to the indications from this programme constitute half the retired population, it becomes necessary to consider the wider context.

It appears that this group of older people have been deliberately dislocated from main-stream society, they are treated differently within the retired population, are discriminated against by the social security system and have a disproportionately high percentage of women present in their number. The 'on/off' nature of the community care legislation, which is essentially designed to help older people, among other groups, only exacerbates their position. In this vulnerable position are they more readily prone and are they ripe to be manoeuvred to meet the needs and requirements of the state?

#### Social Control and Ageing

To explore this question more comprehensively the concept of 'social control' will be used as a perspective from which to approach an

understanding of some of the processes involved. Much of the literature on social control originates from previous periods in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when large residential institutions such as reformatories and penitentiaries existed. More recently it has focused on the areas of criminology and psychiatric classification but this does not deny it a useful role when considering older people. On the contrary, many sociological discussions about older people could have been enhanced had there been a sound theoretical base on which to place it, as Fennell inferred above. Additionally the historical comparison with previous social control issues may provide useful insights into the current position of older people. Moreover, there are also overlaps with deviancy theory, but this will be addressed later in the chapter. Is social control the most useful conceptual tool in this context?

In Park and Burgess's famous text (1924, p785) social control is viewed in a fundamental way, 'All social problems turn out to be problems of social control.' Social control should be '...the central fact and the central problem of Sociology'. How the 'process' of social control takes place and by what means is of central importance in the understanding of such issues. Park and Burgess argue (p42). Sociology was to be '...a point of view for investigating the processes by which the individuals are inducted to and induced to co-operate in some sort of permanent corporate existence we call society'.

This was perhaps an essentially social psychological perspective which could be interpreted in either a functionalist or interactionist manner. Another view of social control is offered by David Rothman (1971, 1980). In his essentially functionalist and pluralist view, social control does not operate in the defence of any particular social interests but rather originates as a broadly based corrective to generally perceived threats of social disequilibrium and disorder. But here Rothman sees society's interventions and responses turning out to be systematically misguided; the programmes embarked upon are all but uniformly disastrous failures; their authors' goals are

regularly and routinely undermined by pragmatic and managerial considerations; conscience inevitably proves no match for convenience (also in Cohen and Scull, 1983, p4). For the legislators of community care this could have been a view to heed, although it is not being suggested that community care is a community corrective, but there are some broad overlapping points. For example, the on/off nature of community care (See Chronology, App 9), could readily be described as being undermined by 'pragmatic considerations'. Of equal importance is that the concept of social control is able to usefully contribute to the analysis within this discussion.

Previously very divergent views have been put forward as to what social control means. Some, in the Ross tradition see it as an agent of socialisation (G H Mead). Others in the Cloward-Piven tradition see it as an agency of coercion (F F Piven & R Cloward, 1971). Rothman, in a chapter 'Social Control: The Uses and Abuses of the Concept in the History of Incarceration' (1983) observes that one of the most significant efforts to give meaning to the concept has been to connect it to the growth of capitalism, or to a market economy, or to an industrial system.

To some like Foucault (1978) capitalism has a role that hovers over Western Civilisation from the Enlightenment Period onwards; it has never changed and has always promoted rationality, with the rule of reason, surveillance and discipline.

Whether 'socialisation/co-operation' or 'coercion' there is agreement that the term social control is to sensitize researchers to the less-than-obvious ways by which stabilisation in society occurs (Rothman, p110).

For this programme the emphasis on 'coercion' within the social control conceptual framework appears to be the most useful avenue from which to pursue an analysis of the economically fragile older people.

Cohen (1985, p167) notes the lack of solid information about 'lower-end care' being matched by the deficiency of good theory to explain emerging control systems and the exact role of the professionals involved. Earlier in the thesis there was a discussion on how the move to community care was based on a false premise, pointing out that the community was not to be simply 'the answer', and that much of the debate was based on rhetoric (chapter 13). This rhetoric sustained the decarceration and decentralisation moves and implied preferences for community and reintegration. However, if the notion of community is explored more thoroughly a more complex position emerges as Cohen (p117/8) notes, 'Not only is this word rich in symbolic power, but it lacks any negative connotations. This is true of its everyday usage and its political appeal to both left and right...Who cares about 'structure', 'function', 'process' or even 'relationship' and 'values'?...much of this symbolic power derives from a profound sense of nostalgia...its mythical properties are profound'. Therefore, although originally it had much potential to offer people it was somehow an illusion. As Cohen goes on to argue, 'The iconography is that of the small rural village in pre-industrial society in contrast to the abstract, bureaucratic, impersonal city of the contemporary technological state'.

A helpful contrast between two aspects of community control (Abrams, 1980), can usefully be adapted to the current community care issue and older people. Abrams makes the distinction between neighbourhood care as 'service delivery' and neighbourhood care as 'neighbourliness'. This can readily be adapted to read community care. The former means the reaching out by the welfare state to deliver bureaucratically administered welfare services to neighbourhoods. The latter means the local residents themselves offering an alternative to the welfare state and providing effective informal caring activities within their own neighbourhoods. These are probably incompatible conceptions and, as Abrams suggests, attempts to realise either one are likely to militate directly against the realisation of the other. This can involve a policy double-bind in the case of community care because although the two approaches can be complimentary they can also



have the opposite effect where neither supports the older person in need because of poor communication and/or assumptions one approach makes about the other.

The invidious position of the older person living in the 'neighbourhood' appears to be matched by an increasing ambivalence in contemporary attitudes towards 'welfare'. As Garland (1985, p.vii) says, 'The experience of the British Welfare State has revealed the deep problems of such a society, as well as the undoubted promise, to the extent that any defence on 'welfarism' must now be qualified, and the ideals which lay behind it are often seen as suspect'.

Garland further adds when analysing 'Old and New Penal Strategies', 'The new state relates to the individual not as an equal, but as a benefactor, an assistantial expert, intervening to relieve the conditions that detract from formal equality, rescuing its subjects...Its power is legitimated not in contractual terms, but in terms of a natural ascendancy marked by its resources and knowledge...' (Garland, 1985, p31). Garland curiously omits to address the fact that those inequalities were created by the state and its structures.

Approximately 100 years ago Victorian penalty was undergoing a crisis of social regulation around its institutions, ideologies and social forces. A prominent element in Victorian ideology was the maximum freedom of the individual and the minimal interference on the part of the state; this was a prominent conception of the non-interventionist state's role. The contemporary capitalist state where the welfare state is often discussed in terms of being 'rolled back' appears to offer some very similar parallels to the Victorian era.

Class differentials between the Victorian era and now also have similarities with regard to repressing and excluding members of the lower sectors of the working class, 'These sectors became 'outcasts', a 'dangerous class' excluded from the political community and under-represented in the dominant ideology - a social danger posing a

problem of management and domination. As far as this group was concerned, the relation of state to individual was one of force and not authority, a relation of coercion...' (Garland, p52). The close resemblance with the position of the 'underclass', with its high proportion of older people present, is striking. The economically fragile can also rest quite 'comfortably' alongside such sentiments.

Rose makes a similar point when talking about the unemployed and social security. He refers to '...the boundary between the employable and the unemployable, bringing to the former the benefit and educational discipline of regular employment, coupled with full civil rights, exposing the latter for the harsh but necessary action by the state' (1979, p26). Intervention is required to break this downward degeneration, regardless of whom it involves. The disenfranchising of vulnerable groups from mainstream society renders them powerless and therefore vulnerable. For the state to keep large groups of people in these circumstances, at the margins of society, has 'divide and rule' tendencies. This not only colludes with sustaining inequalities but goes some way to sabotage any collective action and defence by such groups against the state. For the capitalist state this, at least, has economic advantages as was seen in the previous chapter in relation to the take-up rates of social security benefits.

Economically fragile older people seem to be at the mercy of the state. In this context it is possible to argue that community care legislation was created to avert the increasing threat of social agitation over service provision and that would stabilise the political effects of the market on the 'lower orders'. This may have retained the allegiance of certain parts of the electorate in the retired population, which is becoming increasingly important as a proportion of those eligible to vote, but this has to be weighed against an increasing political awareness, volatility and militancy of such older people. The on/off nature of community care may yet prove to be electorally expensive!

### Economically Fragile and in the margin

Such marginalised groups as the economically fragile and the underclass, who are perceived as marginal to the requirements of the capitalist state, are also superfluous to the labour market either through production or reproduction. There are however, alternatives available to them. Socialists urge not only the basic redistribution of wealth and power but also various forms of needs and rights based provision. Collective action is also a strategy that the group themselves can initiate within this climate.

Where though does this leave older people as individuals today? Ironically, in view of the previous part of the discussion, it was in Victorian society that women were valuable because they did not work. Women, as wives and mothers, together with their status as non-workers had a hitherto unique role. But the experience of retirement now with the common sense notion that sexuality is linked to reproduction, combined with a sense of being economically vulnerable, may give a sense of internalised inferiority. Leonard (1984) has argued, that many women now experience both forms of deprivation. He widens his comments (p180) to include the marginal groups, such as older people, who are no longer involved in socially necessary labour, which affects the development of personality and construction of self-identity. He argues that, although negative changes in self-identity are not inevitable, there can be tendencies for some people to view themselves as worthless.

Waged labour appears to be an opportunity increasingly denied to older people. Leonard argues (p180) that these excluded minorities, some of which are large and growing, and which include older people, might be characterised as being outside the mainstream of productive activity and/or social reproduction activity.

Leonard distinguishes between two kinds of minority, both of which are on the margins or periphery of the central imperatives of social order. The first group are the 'voluntarily marginal' like the

followers of Hare Krishna. The second group that includes older people are those subjected to 'involuntary subordinate marginality' (p181/2). Leonard tackles his analysis from the materialist perspective suggesting that production and social reproduction are central to the social order and to the individual's identity within it. The roles that gendered class subjects are expected to perform create an ideology within which performances have to take place, thus the 'bread-winner' and 'useful member of society' are identities upon which they measure themselves as contributors. But as Leonard asks, 'what happens to those who do not appear to occupy these central roles? What is the effect of subordinate marginality on personality?' (Leonard, 1984, p181).

He endeavours to address these questions but also notes that he cannot hope to answer them. He outlines some of the main experiences of the 'involuntary subordinate marginality' in terms of material relations, dominant ideological meanings, individual responses and the construction of identity.

As was observed in the previous chapter those who rely on state benefits are bound to experience some poverty. Therefore those older people who either have no labour to sell, or have labour that capitalism does not presently require are likely to suffer poverty. As Phillipson says in relation to older people, 'When the older worker steps permanently outside the wage system he or she becomes reliant on personal savings, an occupational pension or the state pension. In fact most older people (over 70%) rely on the state pension as their main source of income...For those without significant additions to their income, the most devastating experience can follow' (Phillipson, 1982, p4/5).

It is probably experiences of this nature that led Unruh to talk about 'certain populations, cohorts, or groups of people who (for various reasons) are believed to find integration and involvement in society problematic'. He terms these groups as 'Problematic Populations' (although this term has also been used in other contexts) suggesting

that older people are the most important of these populations because of their increasing proportion of the total population (Unruh, 1983, p15/16).

For those outside the framework of the dominant ideological values that restrict positive materialist experiences to those deriving from the value of work, their position is one of vulnerability. The subordination that Leonard talks of is primarily as a consequence of gender and class relations, where the position of the exploited classes has been perpetuated, and increased in respect of those who are marginal to productive activity. He suggests that it is not only the person's relationship to the economy which accentuates this subordination, but also their status in relation to the familial ideology. 'With the establishment of the bourgeois family form as hegemonic...the construction of the self becomes defined in connection to nuclear family relations. The effective performance of the parent/child relationship becomes central and all other relations and roles become marginalised and subordinate' (Leonard, p189).

This seemed to be what Allen was also concluding some years later in her work with working class single women. 'As members of a marginal class in industrial society, they were disadvantaged by class and gender. The "caring work" they provided was invisible - unpaid and devalued...The hidden dimensions of their family subcareers can be interpreted as part of the overall pattern of invisible, unpaid labour of women keeping their families together' (Allen, 1989, p129).

Another perspective is offered by Morgan, 'A strong case can be made for the idea that organization has always been class based...The radical organization theorist thus emphasizes the close links that exist between organization, class and control...seeing this as a deliberate policy of 'divide and rule'... Whatever position one takes on the 'divide and rule' issue, segmentation has had a decisive influence on opportunity structures in society, creating or at least perpetuating the class divisions' (Morgan, 1986, p280-7).

Perhaps the most fundamentally important part of the materialist approach that Leonard takes involves the dialectical relationship between material existence and consciousness. This suggests that changes to the consciousness, including the conceptions of self, take place as a result of changes in all parts of the social relations, affecting the individual. This process of change, which has the outcome of marginality, is complex to unravel. What are these changes that involve a person's identity? These are some of the issues and questions now to be addressed in connection with their affect upon older people from within the programme.

What have been the types of experiences the economically fragile older people encountered in their marginalisation process? In chapter 14, (Figure 1 - 'The Impact' - Micro Concept: Older People's Life Cycles), the micro concept was considered as a part of an evolving Social Incarceration Model. As has been demonstrated in the discussion immediately above, the capitalist state has been a major player in the sense of keeping certain groups and cohorts of people at the margins of society, thus limiting their involvement.

If Figure 2 ('The Process' - Macro Concept: The Political Social Control of 'Problem Populations') is observed it can be noted that mainstream society, the macro concept, is represented as encircling the path taken by the economically fragile older people. They are indicated by arrows as being pushed away from mainstream society towards the process of Social Incarceration depicted in Figure 1. It is through experiencing this process in their own community that the economically fragile feel locked inside.

Further, if Figure 3 is noted - 'The Outcome' - (The Career of the Economically Fragile), it can be seen that a further addition is made to the middle of the model, a spiral form created at the centre. Again an arrow indicates the direction of travel within the process, both from the Life Cycle to the spiral and the shape and direction of the spiral itself. Therefore personal 'experiential journeys' through the Social Incarceration Spiral for the Economically Fragile are seen to

take place. The effects of the State disclaiming responsibility can be seen with the career paths from State political responsibility (mainstream society - macro) to personal consequences being acted out at the centre of the spiral (micro experiences).

Essentially the model is 3-dimensional and in two inter-relating halves, the mainstream society of the macro and political world, and the micro experience of the individual's inner world.

A typical career path for an economically fragile older person will include being rejected and marginalised by mainstream society at some point and, as has been seen, this is not the sole preserve of poor older people. They will then pass into the Economic Position - Resource Eligibility - Personal Worth - Future Life Chances cycle, from where their position deteriorates still further, but in a similar pattern, into an ever decreasing spiral.

Although, initially, economic factors are important, and they never diminish in their importance but only increase, the importance of other factors increases the nearer the individual gets to the centre of the model.

#### Macro/Micro relationships and 'normality'

Whether, by moving from the macro to the micro area in the Model, people also change from the objective to the subjective, is unclear. However, what can be said is that there is a strong possibility that a transgression of 'normality' takes place when such a move or change occurs (Foucault, 1978). Property of the margins can be rendered as 'half-alive' (Seligman, 1975), or as Stuart Hall proposes when putting forward the view that in an unequal society different cultures are ranked differentially, some social groups are identified as being more central than others (1980). Views are numerous on such issues.

Changes will however occur when such a move takes place from the macro to the micro areas. Leonard suggests, 'The social relations which

constitute the individual personality are in continuous movement, subject to their contradictions and especially to the impact of struggles between the dominant forces in the social order and the oppressed and subordinate classes and sectors of the population' (Leonard, 1984, p202).

At this point it is necessary to remember what type of research programme this is. It is tempting to snatch enthusiastically at 'causes', make 'predictions' and outline 'explanations'. Sapsford and Evans (1984) wisely suggest more modest aims for a programme such as this, 'it deals more in "reasons"', 'motives', 'perspectives' (p259), and '...tentative statements' (p262). Perhaps the identification of some concepts and a process, with a discussion addressing their interdependence, is most expedient to meet the aims of this type of programme.

Perhaps most importantly for this programme is the relationship between the micro and macro worlds in which older people experience their lives. For the economically fragile there is a strong connection and reliance on the state - a dependence. For the same older people living in their own homes there are, simultaneously, strong feelings of independence, of 'managing' and 'coping' in their own personal micro worlds, with little reliance upon anyone except the subsistence levels of state financial support.

But there is also a third element of this form of analysis because there is an interdependence for older people between their macro and micro worlds over the course of their retirement. This interdependence consists of the relationship between the macro and the micro worlds. For example, how is it that the state pension appears to give contradictory messages to older people? On the one hand the state is supporting older people with retirement pensions but on the other those who receive that income have a very financially restricted form of retirement. Why are women, who, as workers, are at the beck and call of the capitalist state, given such a low proportion of



occupational pensions, thus being over represented in the economically fragile? The interdependence will now be explored in more detail.

If social structure and human action are used in an analagous form to the macro/micro conceptual approach, in this context, it suggests another question: in what sense are the economically fragile older people controlling their own lives? How much control does an individual actor in his/her micro world have outside the general social forces of macro society? Although Symbolic Interactionists might stress the creative aspects of human behaviour, Marxists would emphasise the constraining and restrictive aspects of the social structure on people's actions.

This invidious experience creates a series of effects that become ambivalent tensions and conflicts for those concerned. 'It shapes the experience and opportunities open to different individuals and, through ideology, places a set of expectations on them. Inevitably this has an influence on the individual's personality development (Bowl, 1986, p133).

Leonard (1984, p180) describes it as 'the internalisation of the imperatives of the social order' and identifies the key role of identification and repression in the process. Bowl continues to develop this point, 'This influence not only contributes to differential personality development that is carried forward into old age but shapes the particular ideological framework which is applied to this period in the life cycle' (p133).

Therefore it is apparent that conflicts exist for individuals between what the state promises within the sentiments of - 'look forward to a long and happy retirement' - and what the individual experiences as a consequence of the promises. For the economically fragile older person, and older women in particular, their personal experiences of retirement are not of a type that could be anticipated with pleasure from a pre-retirement age. The state exerts pressures that remove people from their position in mainstream society into the life cycle

of the economically fragile. This manipulation, and simultaneous marginalisation, leave people either side of a considerable divide between those who are economically fragile and those who are not.

The inequalities that this manifests are numerous but perhaps the most important and cruelest is that further economic exploitation of older people is taking place by keeping their pensions at subsistence levels. An oppressed and powerless group can achieve little against the macro state. The group of older women seems to be particularly vulnerable here.

The debate about whether human action determines social action, or vice versa, has existed for many years. But in the circumstances of this research programme it does appear that the macro social structure influences the first movement in the process of marginalisation. The older person's life cycle (Figure 1), that evolved from this programme, probably has strong factors of both micro and macro influences that militate against one another on occasions. The marginalisation process then proceeds beyond this with the individual micro human action being played out, and continuing in the same direction as that manipulative process, but in spiral form. The longer term effects of this and how this can be reconciled in a welfare state will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion, chapter 18.

It would seem that the process identified by this programme is an integral part of the social structure which is providing inequalities and unequal resources. Although here the discussion has focused on older people as a 'class' or group of people they clearly share common interests with other groups in similar positions. Ironically, all will have very similar aims in their quest for change, as these will rest heavily on resources. The rewards of such resources will challenge the ideology that continues to secure the position of the most powerful as against, say, the economically fragile. Therefore the challenge to the dominant power base has to focus on changing the supporting ideology.

It seems from the evidence of this programme that the ideology of capitalism can be held to account for the economically fragile. As Chris Phillipson's work demonstrated, in a society in which the worth of individuals is closely related to the contribution they make to the maintenance of the mode of production retired workers are frequently seen as 'unproductive' and 'a burden' (1982).

This is the most crucial point in the process. Firstly, where the dominant capitalist ideology supports this view it makes it 'legitimate' for certain sectors of the population to be treated in this way. Secondly, this 'legitimacy' allows the start of the marginalisation process to take place where older people are forced out of mainstream society. Having once joined the career path it becomes increasingly difficult to break out of the cycle as process progresses.

#### Interdependent relationships and the Economically Fragile

Having previously considered the interdependent relationship that economically fragile older people have between the macro and their micro worlds, it now seems apparent that this is weighted, or skewed, rather heavily in favour of the influence of the macro side of the relationship.

If this is the case there are similarities with the 'structured dependency' concept as developed by Peter Townsend. In contrast to what he terms 'acquiescent functionalism' - which treats the problems of ageing as being problems of individual adjustment and pathology - Townsend's structured dependency approach is more sociological with a determinist essence. '...society creates the framework of institutions and rules within which the general problems of the elderly emerge and, indeed are manufactured. Decisions are being taken...in the management of the economy and in the maintenance and development of social institutions, which govern the position which the elderly occupy in national life, and these also contribute powerfully to the public consciousness of different meanings of ageing and old age' (1981, p9).

Although Townsend gives particular emphasis to the effects of pensions and residential care as contributing to the process that creates the 'dependency', he appears to omit considering the 'structuring' element in this particular discussion.

However, by 1986 he had developed his views further (p 21), 'In this process the state plays a large part, by determining the events in the latter half of the life which result in the dependence, poverty or isolation experienced by many elderly people. By the state is meant not just the elected government of the day, but the ruling complex of central administrative, legal, economic and political institutions which have become established over a long period of time which govern the scope and, in large measure, the nature of everyday social activities.' Significantly, if Townsend had taken one step back before this, he would have the prospect of the dominant underpinning ideology, that of capitalism, supporting such a position. He appears to omit specific consideration of the role of the capitalist welfare state in such matters in this particular discussion too.

In such a context it is quite consistent for the Government to be backtracking and dithering over community care policy when such an ideology underpins its approach to government. For at the outset community care was seen as a 'cheap option' but it is now seen very much as an 'expensive option', inextricably entangled in the political complexities and effervescent pragmatism that involve the poll/council tax. This view does give further weight to the proposal that if the on/off nature of community care continues, and this is looking increasingly likely as a deliberate policy, the Government are clearly hoping for a 'withering on the vine' outcome from it.

It is necessary to look again at the interdependency perspective that older people experience in the macro/micro relationship. Foucault analyses power as a characteristic of relations and not necessarily of the state. 'Power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared...power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations...Where there is power, there

is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power' (1979, p94).

This is particularly helpful when trying to understand some of the contradictions surrounding older people who are eligible for resources at the micro level but refuse them as a matter of pride. Needless to say this increases the tension they find themselves in between their macro and micro worlds. (Johnson et al, 1987, Project Paper 3, p15).

If, on the one hand, a Marxist view is taken of the economically fragile older person's macro mainstream society/capitalist welfare state, and on the other, Foucault's view is taken over their experience in the micro world, further personal struggles for the individual emerge and ensue. But ironically it appears that the more the individual is marginalised by the macro state the more he/she becomes accepting and dependent upon the state for income. Although resistance can occur from the individual it is in the context of 'this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power' (Foucault, 1979, p94).

A consistency is then apparent for the social incarceration process. The further into the process an individual progresses the more difficult it is to 'break out' of such a cycle (Figure 3). The 'outcome' appears inevitable. Future life chances look considerably limited. For the economically fragile once having joined such a career path the outcome looks very bleak.

As Leonard suggests 'In a social order which places so much value on the individual responsibility of adults, dependency is bound to be experienced as failure: "being a nuisance", including being incontinent, often produces guilt and shame in the old person (1984, p191). Bowl remarks that 'It may well create increasing depression in many old people' (1986, p135). As Townsend argued in 1981, this dependence is directly reinforced by the nature of the services provided. Although Townsend was talking about residential institutions

then, the same argument can be applied to the current community care policies. Services become 'resources' led and not 'needs' led.

However, there are critics of the 'dependency' perspective (Kohli, 1988, p375), but this programme is being very specific with its notion of a social construction process and to whom it applies. It is not suggesting that all retirement is seen as a negative experience, on the contrary, from this programme's data it is clear that some people outside the economically fragile group have had some very positive experiences.

A view that is however, closer to those established by this programme is 'The idea of dependency being in many respects socially constructed has been a liberating perspective within gerontology. It has challenged professional workers to consider their own role in the creation of passivity and marginality; at the same time, it has offered a powerful critique of government policies which see the elderly as a social problem and a cause of economic ills' (Fennell et al, 1988, p54).

What improved understanding of the economically fragile respondents does such an analysis demonstrate? Bowl says '...problems of ageing are not incidental to the economy of our society: many are determined by relative material disadvantages that stem from the structure of society, others shaped by the ideology that reinforces it. As such they are "normal" rather than "pathological"...' (Bowl, 1986, p136).

#### Roles and Careers for the Economically Fragile

This programme agrees with such sentiments but can go further in specific relation to the economically fragile. A career path has also been demonstrated and some of the likely conflicts and struggles that individuals may experience when on such a path. The career path begins before retirement, marginality occurs in relation to the labour market which manifests itself through inadequate occupational pensions and poverty post retirement. It must be stressed again that it is women in

particular who are being discussed, a point echoed elsewhere by Jean-Claude Henrard on a European wide basis (1991, p184).

Are older people who are experiencing life on the margins from within such a 'process' seen as 'different' or 'normal' by wider society? Any likely consequences will now be addressed in relation to deviancy theory in order to explore and identify any areas of similarity.

Whether social control leads to deviance or vice versa remains another of those many continuing debates within sociology (Lemert, 1967). Deviance here is meant in its broad sense of 'outside the norm', however the discussion about 'norms' will not be entered into. Like social control the study of deviance is probably even more firmly rooted in criminology. Commentators like Cloward and Ohlin, (1960) have long ago emphasised connections between conformity and deviance.

Perhaps one of the most illuminating aspects of deviancy theory for this programme is that of labelling theory. Lemert (1951) whose ideas later to be developed by Becker, (1963) started to interpret deviance not as a set of pathological characteristics for individuals or groups, but as a process of interaction between deviants and non-deviants. Those who represent the powerful are able to impose definitions of normality, and thus deviant labels, upon others. The labels applied create different cohorts of people who are reflections and expressions of the power structure in society. Such examples include rich over poor, men over women and the ethnic majority over ethnic minorities. Interestingly older people over younger people can also be used as an example but a more appropriate adaptation of this could be the middle aged over the very young and aged.

Although labelling theory does have its limitations, in the broad sense in which it is being used, here the ideas it expresses do throw some light on the social incarceration process. For there is a process in labelling theory too where people pass from being members of mainstream society to being on the margins.

That is probably about as far as an explicit analogy with deviancy theory can be taken. However, it can be argued that Spitzer (1975) develops this more implicitly 'Deviance production involves all aspects of the process through which populations are structurally generated, as well as shaped, channelled in to, and manipulated within social categories defined as deviant' (p 640). The outcome of such a process is 'problem populations'.

Spitzer sees a synthesis between state capitalism and the organisation and administration of class rule. He draws out the implications of this: '...the most important effect of these trends is that control functions are increasingly transferred from the organs of civil society to the organs of political society (the state)...the state is forced to take a more direct and extensive role in the management of problem populations' (p 647). The essence of Spitzer's remarks does seem to support this programme's view concerning the manipulation and marginalisation of the economically fragile.

There are also some real similarities with the 'sick role', for the economically fragile in the broad sense of being outside mainstream society, as observed in a discussion about mental illness elsewhere: 'A sick person's status is conditionally legitimated when he willingly makes himself dependent on other people who are not sick - friends...doctors - rather than fellow sufferers. This creates real barriers to group formation among the sick, and little possibility of positive legitimation. The sick role thus not only isolates and insulates the sick person, but also exposes him to very powerful forces compelling him to become reintegrated into society as a fully participating member' (Treacher et al, 1981, p139).

Using Treacher's analysis it can be argued that the provision of welfare services actually exacerbates the isolation of some people. Therefore, ironically, the intervention of welfare services may serve to exaggerate the position of the economically fragile. Older People are put in an ambiguous position where if they receive welfare services their position deteriorates into dependency, and if they do



not receive welfare services they enter the 'career path' of the poor anyway. The position is indeed perverse and the efficacy curious. Perhaps where the analysis of this programme departs from Treacher is at the final part, for the economically fragile the 'powerful forces' continue along the route of the career path, thus highlighting and further emphasising differences, and not attempting to 'reintegrate into society as a fully participating member'.

An understanding of deviancy theory can enhance the understanding of the interpretations of this programme's data. Some of the explicit and implicit suggestions as outlined above are useful in discovering that similar processes have been identified in other arenas of sociological analysis. Further, it has been shown that an inter-play of understandings between these arenas can only be complementary to the wider understanding of analysis, as has been demonstrated when expressing the parallels between the 'sick role' and the analysis developed in this programme.

In the summary at the end of part III of the thesis several questions about older people and community care were raised that were to be addressed in this chapter. These included the possibility of identifying predictable life patterns, careers or marginalisation processes; discovering the existence of a developing two tier system of welfare service delivery to older people based on the ability to pay, together with some causal connections linking these; and finally using this evidence to indicate further that older people are being entrapped, isolated and eventually incarcerated within their own community.

The idea that it may be possible to interpret the 'causes' that actually produce the 'effects' probably remains a little unwisely optimistic and overly ambitious in this type of programme. A more circumspect and inferential view may give the programme's findings a more serious reception. There are elements of the explanations offered that are sound (internal validity - Sapsford and Evans, 1984, p 261), these might include the development of the economically fragile

concept. And, although there are dangers with generalizability (external validity - Sapsford and Evans, 1984, p 261), from such a small programme, strong inferences, certainly on a descriptive basis but possibly also inferentially causal, about economically fragile older people beyond this programme can be made, albeit cautiously (See Note 1 for elaboration of internal/external validity concepts).

#### Widening experiential gaps

It has been argued here that it is possible to take a perspective, which has been drawn from the data, together with its subsequent analysis and interpretation, that predictable life patterns, careers and a marginalisation process are identifiable for economically fragile older people. From this it seems very clear that the type of 'experiential gap' between the economically fragile and the non economically fragile is wide, and after the discussions about the 'underclass', the suggestion here is that the gap will continue to widen. Therefore the type of welfare provision that people receive will be determined by their economic standing and classification with the very specific suggestion that some welfare provision for the economically fragile militates against their wider interests and future life chances.

Causal connections perhaps remain strongest between the economic position of older people and the over-representation of women in that population. The wider discriminations against 'the poor', 'the elderly' and 'women' continue to manifest themselves against these different groups of people, who are sometimes one and the same, who then experience structured inequalities. The influence of dominant ideology remains a major consideration as do the macro and micro experiences of the older people. Having explored some of the reasons why this might be taking place, the role of the capitalist welfare state, as seen from a social control perspective, was outlined. A causal relationship between the two variables of economic position and gender does seem to exist, but to what extent they relate to one another remains more difficult to define precisely. The proposed model

of social incarceration, developed throughout this programme, is perhaps a little more speculative but is firmly grounded within the programme. It gives a coherence for a proposed theoretical account and describes an existing situation 'as a whole' that the economically 'fragile' people sustain. Further, it exemplifies some of the struggles and tensions in the marginalisation process.

Rose (1982, p105), when contemplating the 'worth' of research, suggests that external theoretical validity is not a matter of methodology alone but 'the relationship to the wider body of sociological literature'. Some strands of this programme have adhered to this suggestion, the exploration about 'dependency' and older people being an example.

At a very fundamental level within the programme's terms of reference, the research has identified a small scale phenomenon from a small population which supports the programme's hypothesis. In so doing many other interesting aspects of older people's lives have been identified, and have led in turn to many additional unanswered questions. Some of these are probably worthy of further hypothesis development; the role and semiotic of language (Also see Ungerson, 1987) as a defence mechanism and the state's discrimination against women carers are two potential examples.

In the same way that a hypothesis cannot be 'proved' or 'disproved' predictions to wider populations, especially from small numbers, could be imprudent from a reliability dimension, and that is in addition to the caution required over the problems that are encountered over change of context and the validity considerations. A statement however, can still be made about the wider relevance of some of the programme's findings. The application of the social incarceration process, even with these reservations, still has the scope to be worthy of wider consideration and debate. It can be suggested that it is an 'effect' of current welfare policies, perhaps more importantly however, it further supports the hypothesis.

In terms of theory generation the programme does not correspond with simple ethnographic description, which does not generate or test theory, but neither does it aspire to analytic induction which, at its most ambitious, aims to generate and prove an integrated and universally applicable theory of causes accounting for phenomena identified during fieldwork. Perhaps this programme rests somewhere between those two stools, where theory has been generated but the testing of the results and hypothesis, which usually take place in 'quasi-quantified fashion' (R. Walker, 1985, p 187) before concluding the research, has not been undertaken, nor, as in this case, is it probably suitable from a validity viewpoint. This programme can probably be best categorised as that described by Robert Walker in his discussion about a theory generation/testing matrix that he adapted from the work of Rose (1982) and Glaser and Strauss (1967). It involves, 'an iterative process of theory development whereby concepts and relationships are formulated from the data through inspection, the data then reviewed leading, where necessary, to a redefinition of initial concepts' (p187).

An example of this is the original usage in the programme of 'social class', which changed as the programme developed. Initially the Registrar General's classification was used but soon dispensed with, as has been outlined in chapter 8. The evolving notion of economic fragility, which turned into both a concept and an independent variable, replaced social class based on the programme's data and the programme's progress. This was based very much on Robert Walker's remarks, immediately above, about 'an iterative process'. It was then viewed as the main variable of the programme on which most other things pivoted. How different older people's life chances (the dependent variable) could be categorised then rested on that classification of whether they were, or were not, economically fragile. Thus a dependent variable came to be seen in relationship to the independent variable.

How might this discussion relate to the specifics of the community care social policy? In some ways these were explored in chapters 15

and 14 however, some general points need to be considered which will help prepare the ground in readiness for turning to chapter 16, 'Some Alternative Policy Proposals'.

#### Power, individuals and the State

The concept of power in this context has become central to the discussion. It has many similarities to the attributes of social value, as well as to the distribution of social and economic resources, thus its centrality is demonstrated but within the debate itself it is under the guise of a socially constructed centrality. From this viewpoint and position many older people find themselves at the periphery of events which is likely to be dependent upon how they are seen by the powerful (Mathiesen, 1974). This will influence where they are placed in relation to 'centrality'. One particularly confusing element here is that people might find themselves at a number of different places at different distances from 'centrality', but at the same time. For example, an older man could find himself in a different place from an older woman. If the older woman were both economically fragile and/or a black woman, she could find herself in several different places at once but still on the margins of society. Therefore being away from 'centrality' can be a very diverse existence. The range of micro, and at times conflicting experiences, can create tensions for the individual, especially when the macro state is responsible for determining some of the socially constructed strains and stresses. It would seem that some of these people are lost for capitalist society, lost by capitalist society, and become lost in capitalist society. Therefore they are incarcerated within it, and all the time they are living in a society from which they are lost.

Thus, in view of the outcome of the data created from this programme, it is unlikely that the needs of some individuals are being met by the social policy in this context. More specifically, of the two potential beneficiaries, the state or the individual, that seem to have most to gain from the current community care welfare policies, the power relationship is heavily weighted in favour of the state.

What of this inverse power relationship for the economically fragile individual? Does the dominant ideology of the powerful transcend and pervade all social policy? On July 22, 1991, John Major's Government published The Citizen's Charter (HMSO, 1991) which plans to offer protection from unrestrained state monopolies, but at the same time this leaves 'the mere ordinary person' unprotected from the market place, a consideration which is given no mention. It seems that 'the mere ordinary person' does need protection from the state monopolies, but instead of the Government's meaning of this term, which includes such examples as British Rail, the Post Office and Education, in this programme the monopoly at issue is the capitalist welfare state with its worst discriminating excesses which it acts out through service provision, including the benefits system. This discrimination does leave people in the margins, and keeps them ever more firmly rooted in the margins, as Figure 3 suggests, but their vulnerability to the market place remains ever present. It seems that 'welfare' and 'state' are two dependent variables that are interpreted and determined by the dominant ideology.

In the last few years much has been said about the development of the welfare state by politicians of the Right. They talk of the need to replace a 'dependency culture' with an 'enterprise culture' and insist that the welfare state has created a debilitating 'dependency' or 'benefit' culture (in Land, 1989, p141). As Hilary Land herself says 'It also does not follow as is implied by so many critics of the welfare state, that only state policies create dependencies. The consequences of economic growth and increased consumption can do so, too.' She then cites Richard Titmuss (1976, p66) who called this 'the theory that increasing private wealth [among all or part of the population] leads to an increase in the social disservices' (in Land, p148). Here it seems like another aspect of the dominant ideology making assumptions based on ideological rhetoric.

A continuing and important thematic influence throughout the programme has been that of economics, whether at the macro capitalist welfare state level, or the micro economically fragile level. It is in the

interests of dominant ideology to build upon the status quo, at the expense of those who have been termed by this programme as 'the mere ordinary person'. Redistributive economic policies, Keynesian or otherwise, have to be at the forefront of challenging the status quo where notions of dependency can be altered and social construction can be modified, if not nullified, in terms of power differentials. The extent of these pervasive pressures are not to be underestimated, as Hilary Graham remarks when discussing the position of women carers, 'caring defines both the identity and the activity of women in Western Society. It defines what it feels like to be a woman in a male-dominated and capitalist social order' (Graham, 1983, p30). Further democratisation for women would assist their position.

Challenges to such an established 'order' would doubtless be termed 'social engineering' which has been used as a term of abuse by right-wing critics of socialist social policies (Cox and Boyson, 1979). But the social and economic relationships between the state and individuals, including the underpinning ideology, has to be re-appraised.

Full membership of a community or society is surely the right of every member, and as T H Marshall says, it is contingent upon three sets of citizenship rights: civil, political and social (1963). As has been demonstrated at several levels, wide differentials of involvement in the community do currently exist. From the outcome of this programme it is possible to observe that older people most frequently lack social, political and civil citizenship rights respectively, in that descending hierarchical order, but all are of equal importance because all are oppressions.

This programme has termed one of these the 'experiential gap' between those who are economically fragile and those who are not. The associated stigma (Goffman, 1963) of such roles as being, 'in the margins', of the 'lower orders', 'economically fragile', 'the mere ordinary person' or suffering an 'experiential gap' are not inconsequential. They all contribute to being lost in capitalist

society and thereby being socially incarcerated within one's own community. The urge to highlight the irony in the current climate of the Government publishing its Citizen's Charter is too strong to resist but unfortunately it is only one of the many ironies that have been outlined in this chapter.

Walker and Beaumont (1981) have described as a 'coercive tilt' the movement whereby the apparatus of the state progressively moves to be more authoritarian and punitive in its attempts to restore social order and takes away/reduces rights and access to welfare services on the grounds that such policies, via their economic burden and effect on social morality, have been significant factors in the recurrent economic crises of British Capitalism. This clearly equals the loss of social rights.

Jones (1983), when discussing the future of social work, saw one of its top priorities as 'exposure work' but also acknowledged that it is a sensitive area of activity for the state and the ruling class. He further remarks accordingly about social work, 'It is the domain of casualties who expose the frailties and brutalities of a capitalist society. The state pays considerable attention and makes strenuous efforts to disguise this domain; to keep the problems hidden from general view and to promote explanations which transfer responsibility to the victims. This cordon sanitaire has many implications for working-class politics, not least in separating large clusters of the residual and deviant poor from the rest of the working population, and removing and obfuscating a vital source of potential anger' (p153). In relation to this programme Chris Jones's comments have more than a small element of prophecy about them.

Whether this chapter contributes to the general body of sociological theory appertaining to older people, and poor older people in particular, is for others to judge. For the researcher there can be little doubt that it has.



How can social work with older people change for the better? For that to happen 'friendly' social policy has to first of all be in place. It is to a discussion about developing 'Some Alternative Policy Proposals' that we now turn, in chapter 16, in order to address this issue.

Note 1

In their discussion about different types of validity Sapsford and Evans drew upon the work of Campbell (1969), who distinguished between 'internal' and 'external' validity in the following way. Internal validity has to do with whether what is interpreted as the 'cause(s)' actually produce the 'effects' in a given piece of research. External validity is concerned with whether the results of this study can be generalized...

## CHAPTER 16

### Some Alternative Policy Proposals

How can welfare provision for older people be improved? Serious shortcomings to the welfare 'system' have already been identified in the thesis. Some may see social policy as the bedrock that requires change. While that might be partly true it does not stand up alone as a serious challenging proposal to the status quo. The views being put forward here however, suggest that a more comprehensive response is required. Changes in social policy, together with other changes may have greater effect.

The parameters and context of this chapter are noted because the breadth and complexity of the subject creates the risk of any subsequent proposals being too general. It is necessary to involve the wider political context but to reconcile it to how it might shape the individual's own experience in Redbourn or Luton is equally important. In order to overcome these problems it has therefore been necessary to accept that certain factors of the discussion are 'given' in a specific context. Here three aspects are being accepted as 'given' because of their fundamental influence in the immediate future, which, for the purposes of this discussion, will be the next five years.

These are firstly, the capitalist welfare economy in the country; this is unlikely to change during the specified period. Not only does the political opposition now support such an approach but the wider political manoeuvrings on the world stage are attempting to give such systems more credibility by considering, somewhat gleefully it might be argued, the demise of alternative systems. The change in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1991 and the recent changes throughout Eastern Europe are examples.

Secondly, the links this country has with the European Economic Community will during the next five years continue to strengthen and the influence of the EEC will increase. This may create some tension

or friction between this country as a member state and the EEC. For example, the EEC appears to be moving towards a social democratic/partnership model of governmental operation based on accepting minimum standards and legal rights bound together by the responsibilities of social citizenship. This is some what removed from contemporary accepted principles in the UK, but this will be expanded upon later in the chapter.

Thirdly, when contemplating the relationship between ageing and social policy it is necessary to acknowledge that dominant values in society are ageist.

The 'given' factors have a fundamental bounding influence upon the discussion and commentary. The debate about the advantages and disadvantages of such factors and whether they are acceptable or unacceptable remains outside this thesis. However, the acceptance of them as 'given' keeps the discussion focused, relevant to the worlds in which the respondents live and, perhaps above all, realistic.

One of the parameters to the discussion is that attention will stay with the respondents of the research programme. In Part III of the thesis, as the matrix below indicates, interpretations were placed upon the findings, and examples of how the interpretations manifested themselves through inequalities were developed from those.

#### Research Programme Process

<u>Findings</u>	<u>Interpretations</u>	<u>Manifestations through Inequalities</u>
Economics →	Poverty (E.F.) →	Discrimination via Benefits
Gender →	Women →	Exploitation of carers
Theory →	Macro/Micro →	'Problem' Populations/Careers of E.F.

A close adherence to the 'Interpretations' will be observed. It is from this point that the discussion can proceed because there have already been proposals for change inferred from some of these earlier

discussions about Community Care, (eg chapters 13-15). These have included changing the underlying political ideology, changing the way carers are treated by the state, with a particular emphasis placed upon the inequalities in the Benefits system as propounded by the DOH and DSS, and implementing the new Community Care proposals ahead of the revised time-table (Announced in July, 1990, by the then Minister of Health Kenneth Clarke). These inferences are to be expanded upon and directed primarily at the Economically Fragile in the arena of Community Care.

In order to give the discussion added cohesion, consistency and logic the following four-part approach will be used as a framework around which the comments will be formed. The necessary climate required will be explored before a system of underpinning ideology/values can be examined. Only then can there be complementary 'friendly' social policies that are to be developed and dovetailed into the existing political sytem. Finally, how these new policy suggestions will be administered and applied, including some of the issues and practical dilemmas will then be considered. The approach to the discussion can therefore be seen to follow two axes that interrelate.

#### Approach

Climate → Values/Ideology → Policy → Application  
Poverty (EF)  
Women  
Macro/Micro

It has been some years since a serious agenda for social policy proposed to meet the needs of older people. Perhaps the most comprehensive was 'A Manifesto for Old Age' in 1985 (Bornat et al). Within this work not only was much attention given to the requirements of attitudinal change but it was a refreshing political analysis of the politics of ageing. Although, since then, there have been many other perspectives on working with older people (Bowl, 1986; Froggatt,

1990), few, if any, have given such a radically comprehensive response.

### Climate

What is the climate that is currently required from which an ideology/value system can be used as a grounding for non-discriminatory social policy to evolve? In order to address this question a useful starting point is to reflect on what has been acknowledged already in the thesis, that older people are exposed to structural processes and suffer the same disadvantages as other groups of people (Chap 15). If this is interpreted as a move on from blanket pathological labels being applied to older people it at least affords the opportunity for solidarity with other groups within the community. There appears to exist an unenviable position for older people of experiencing a 'normality' of discrimination along with other groups in an ageist world.

However, the climate in which the current major planks of social policy operate (ie The NHS and Community Care Act, 1990, and The Children Act, 1989), are on the one hand resource determined and yet not determined by need, although both are disguised as being consumer led needs.

Radical 'solutions', along with others are to be treated with caution, as Leonard warns. 'A radical perspective which ignores or argues away the psychological effects of experience and the need at times to respond to these effects individually, as well as through group, community and organisational action, is in danger of failing to consider others as whole persons, of perpetrating, in another form, a fragmented, dehumanised view of men and women' (1975, p51).

The mixture under Thatcherism of economic liberalism and the sacredness of family life has produced a volatile and inconsistent relationship between family life and the free market. The market does

collude with increasing inequalities and consequently leaves some people less free than others.

'Solutions' by The New Right involved reducing dependence on the state by relying on the family, markets or charity. This view of residual welfare provision operates in a selective and targeting ethos. Although Thatcherism set the agenda for social policy in the 1980's it can be argued that it failed. As Piachaud (1991) argues, 'There has been failure to roll back public expenditure...reduce numbers on social security...to move to residual welfare: universal free education and health care continue as does a universal child benefit...In the last decade there has not been a massive cut-back in social expenditure, as many imagine. But social provision has fallen far below what has been needed.'

Another perspective is that of Roos (1973). He characterises diswelfare as equivalent to what Marxists call 'alienation'. If diswelfare is alienation then welfare must be in sharp opposition to it, and the opposite of alienation is 'self-realisation'. Roos sees self-realisation as only being possible in an ideal state of praxis (a model or example), which for him is the ultimate goal of welfare society. Praxis, as stated by Roos (p 49), is 'the overlaying "ideal" for all those other principles, (ie justice, freedom and equality)'.

However, if older people, and not only older people, are involved in the debate about what services should be available to them, then a dialogue can emerge that offers credibility to both parties, who evolve as partners. Community care policy has always viewed the recipients of service provision as 'passive', with the nature and extent of provision being decided by others. This falsely-created dependency reinforces ageist attitudes of older people as not being able to participate, think or take responsibility.

People who are involved in designing their own services are less remote from the process and can feel they 'own' their services. Users of services can be involved in identifying the goals of social policy

for themselves. Both need and cost can be better understood and debates such as: should tax cuts take priority over extra expenditure on services, can take place where they belong, in the community that is affected by such decisions. This debate with the service user, or consumer, to use Thatcherite terminology, places them in a very different position and they participate in an atmosphere of co-operation and not confrontation. Participation in such processes have direct links to citizenship, but the government has to hand power to people if they are to enjoy the proper fruits of social citizenship. This includes strategies to overcome inequalities and increasing opportunities for the poor and disadvantaged. This will be addressed further in the area of ideology/values.

If older people, including those additionally marginalised by either their gender or economic position, or in some cases both, are to be taken seriously it is necessary to identify a climate where positive action can take place. Tawney (1964), put it very succinctly, 'Certain types of life and society are fit for human beings and others are not.' He refers to 'the corrupting influence of a false standard of values, which perverts, not only education, but wide tracts of thought and life' (p82). To start to move away from individual consumerism, which is divisive, and return to bringing groups of people together where they can begin to empower themselves, would be a positive and worthwhile beginning. Promoting 'user involvement' to confront inequalities appears not only advisable but necessary to achieve the goal of building a climate of partnership to form an anti-polarisation strategy towards welfare provision.

### Ideology/Values

When considering the effect of an underpinning value/ideological base, structural influences are necessary to understand because they produce material inequalities. The central and dominant ideology upon which current UK society operates seems very resistant to being changed by the powerless. The experience of observing the lack of coherence in Community Care implementation appears to support this. More evidence

could include the failure of the 'trickle down' economic policy as discussed in chapter 14. But would more radical reform fare any better? Perhaps a more useful question to address is what are the aims of changing social policy for older people? Many of the respondents in this programme wanted improved services and thought that the original principles of a welfare state, that included governmental responsibility for the individual from 'the cradle to the grave' should be adhered to. They saw this operating in the 1960's and 1970's but observed it diminishing since that time.

The acceptance of the precedence that economic policy continues to take over social policy has to be challenged. When expenditure on the welfare state is regarded as a 'burden' there is now an explicit implication that recipients of this are themselves a burden to the tax paying public. The Socialist Health Association note that staff attitudes and values are not always helpful, 'A change is needed throughout the DHSS to eradicate the tendency to regard Social Aid as a charitable gift, rather than the right of every citizen' (1988, p23).

In the case of older people, and other people too, this is perceived as the people themselves being the problem/burden, when, conversely, it is the values and attitudes that are attached to 'accepting welfare' by those in power that create these circumstances. Earlier in the thesis attention was drawn to the views of some Conservative Ministers who talk of 'passengers' and 'crew' roles in society. Another way this manifests itself has been the increase in the use of means testing and targeting within the social security system. The negative connotations and stigma that go with being 'on the social' not only militates against, but also causes people to resist, accepting Benefits. These very deliberate steps by the government mean that welfare provision is becoming increasingly fragmented, and in the case of older people, is further institutionalising ageism. This fragmentation is also at an organisational level where voluntary and commercial providers of care are encouraged by the government and local authority providers are encouraged to dis-enfranchise themselves



from service provision (Caring for People, 1989, 'Developing a Mixed Economy of Care' 3.4.6).

If older people do not wish for the ethos of their welfare state to change but are being discriminated against because of structural inequalities, an essential ingredient for an ideological foundation begins to emerge for social policy affecting them. These structural inequalities are identifiable at two levels. Firstly, those that set older people apart from other groups in the separatist tradition, and secondly, at the level of health and social care systems that are becoming increasingly fragmented. Older people do not want to be treated differently from other people or groups of people, they wish to be a part of mainstream society but perhaps with an 'old' pluralist emphasis where their services do not continue to be more fragmented. This is in contrast to a 'new' pluralism - emanating from Griffiths - that offers a range of service providers that may well be fragmented. There is a need to co-ordinate services where they are decentralised and deinstitutionalised. This aim of halting fragmentation can be identified as a central value or tenet to strive for. It can both be worked towards and usefully seen as an objective to reach and attain. 'User involvement' and partnership in social policy formation appear to be important underlying principles upon which it should be based.

In the legislative context of social policy the aim of keeping older people 'in' mainstream society, with their services, can be achieved not only by working alongside other groups of people in the arena of community care, but it also has the potential to link into other parts of policy like the Children Act of 1989, which is to be implemented from the Autumn 1991. Aspects of interdependency between 'client groups' will be considered, how this could be achieved will be returned to later in this chapter. But the acceptance of the value that older people 'are just another group' offers the opportunity to stem the alienation process that takes them further into the margins of society.

As with other sections of society, a group of several million older people is not a homogenous group. This highlights the importance of recognising the culture in which people participate. Culture is not simply what people eat, what their religion is or how they dress, it is much more complex. It varies from the macro to micro, from country to country, from house to house; culture is amorphous and flexible and influences life experience at all levels. Not only is a better understanding of culture required but strategies are required to resolve inconsistent responses to cultural needs. This raises the question of 'assessment' of each person's cultural reality and the full context of which they are a part (Froggatt, 1991), an area becoming increasingly important to social and health care professionals even though they are tending to assess within the confines of resource allocation and not the needs of the person.

Anne Jamieson (1989), considered health and social policies for older people on a cross-national basis, primarily from within the EEC. She uncovered some of the factors influencing policy formulation and implementation. Of the explanatory factors she thought crucial to be understood were the structure of the welfare systems and the political and ideological context within which the systems operate (p445). Although in the U.K., where, like Denmark, levels of service are relatively high compared with countries like Greece, the commitment to these levels took place some years ago. Jamieson continues to reinforce her point about ideology, '...in both countries (UK and Denmark) recent developments in the supply of domiciliary services have not kept up with the growing number of elderly people. There are economic reasons for this, and efforts to develop community care are confined to reallocation of existing resources' (p451).

One of the consequences of this in the UK has been to reveal that when it comes to domiciliary care for those most severely disabled, a third do not receive any formal support (Evandrou, 1987).

Within the structural barriers which appear to hinder and impede the possibility for policy change, can be included the different levels of

political structure that sometimes espouse opposing ideologies such as national and local government. The tensions between opposing ideologies impose hurdles not only for operation of service delivery but also for change. Within this there is also the useful analysis of policy by Rodwin (1984), that distinguishes between three different types of policy instrument: (1) administrative incentives, (eg legislation); (2) market incentives, (eg financial); (3) moral incentives, (eg influence values guiding behaviour).

This analysis only adds to the recognition of how complicated policy change is and how structures militate against change to maintain the status quo. Additionally it also indicates some of the structural factors that affect the choice of a particular policy instrument, these may include levels of funding and sources of funding. For example, the degree of government, as opposed to professional influence over budgets, may explain why West Germany consistently spends a good deal more of its GDP on health than the U. K.

The levels and perception of that prosperity have changed in the last decade and economic policy has increasingly undermined social policy. Instead of economic and social policy working hand in glove, the former has continually taken priority and this has dominated and dictated events. Therefore the required complementing coherence of social policies has always been lacking because of their secondary role in relation to economic determinants. Poverty is a good example of this, a new holistic response is required beyond the narrow confines of social security. As David Piachaud (31.7.91, p19) comments, 'Thus it is necessary to consider a range of policies - employment, child care, housing, education and training as well as social security - when thinking about poverty'. The political will is required to bring back into mainstream society the many groups who have been marginalised over the last decade, including the growing numbers of older people.

So what does full participation in society mean? Here the notion of citizenship reappears. The Right see it primarily as obligations

towards the community to do charitable and voluntary work, although the conservatives do have a rights based philosophy it is extremely narrow in conception eg "patient's rights"; the Left however, view it as more overtly and broadly rights based. A combination of the two, rights and obligations, suggest that both the government and individuals have responsibilities in both directions, although in the UK this is inhibited by the absence of a Bill of Rights. There are no rights in the UK only an absence of prohibitions. The philosophy of the present government has a track record of being hostile towards citizenship by fragmenting communities and dislocating groups from full participation. As Phillips (1990, p23) observes, 'Social divisions have been exacerbated; a whole underclass has emerged, excluded marginalised and all but disenfranchised through poverty. Ethnic minorities remain second-class citizens, those who are not actually deprived of the right to be citizens at all because of the colour of their skin'.

If this is taken together with the erosion of the power of local government, because power has been re-centralised, a further denial of power to local people has been removed and their democratic power has been further diminished. Vastly different levels of services delivery now exist from one local authority to another as the Socialist Health Association observe, 'Variations in services from one part of the country to another is no longer an acceptable result of local democracy. It can be where need is greatest that social services are worst. Meals on wheels may be cheap or free, and readily available in one borough, but expensive and sparse in another' (1988, p24). An inspectorial overview by the DOH is one way of combatting such inconsistencies but it is not a creative response, this will be expanded upon towards the end of the chapter.

Moreover, even in these circumstances older people are formulating new ways of exercising power which they have been able to obtain. Not only will they transgress the Spitzer differentiation from social junk to social dynamite, through their electoral power, as discussed in the previous chapter, but they will also be able to exercise some

financial muscle. Although this does not apply to all old people it is a significant proportion and it can be exercised in a positive non-exploitative way. An example of this is to share house space with other people, but not necessarily ownership. There are other examples of older people striving for power (Kuhn, 1985, Dourado, 1990).

When returning to the European perspective, for example, regarding the disadvantaged employment position older women endure (Harrop, 1990); the poverty league where more people are living in relative poverty in the United Kingdom than any other European Community country (Brindle, 1991[a]); or social work training for those working with older people is both too short and lacking in quality (Wilhelm et al, 1991). Clearly the UK does not fare well when compared with its partners.

Alternative value bases and ideological perspectives have been proposed. Pete Alcock (1989), outlines why citizenship and welfare rights offer new hope for new welfare in Britain. He says the prospects exist for political strategies for state welfare in the 1990's, based on the idea of a right to welfare as an alternative to the Thatcherite appeal for a private market in welfare provision. He argues that a commitment to guaranteed rights to welfare, coupled with democratic participation in the delivery of welfare services, could change the basis upon which welfare is provided (p37). It is this essential component - democratic participation - that is missing from the Tory idea of 'rights'.

David Taylor (1989), in discussing citizenship and social power, argues that the concept of citizenship must be taken out of its liberal past for it is currently associated with a set of nationalistic inclusionary and exclusionary practices based on a variety of forms of social power. He argues that the power is not given to all groups and is based on property, which excludes people on racial and gender grounds. He suggests that in order to promote active citizenship a 'dynamic' concept of need should be worked towards and there should be a move away from a simplistic tampering with legal reforms based on rights.

The ideas outlined above from Alcock and Taylor suggest a further move in the direction of 'service user involvement', as advocated by others (Croft & Beresford 1990, Adams 1990), but underpinned by values of rights and responsibilities on a foundation of political ideology. This supports the 'welfare for all' principle as a matter of entitlement, thus moving away from the current divisive approach that is based on the undermining 'ability to pay' conditions.

### Policy

The evolution of the welfare state in this country arose from what at the time was radical social reform by David Lloyd-George in 1911. He was imitating some of Bismark's ideas from the 1880's regarding national insurance. A more comprehensive welfare state was developed by the 1945-50 Labour government, the implementation of which was made possible because of the post-world war II economic prosperity.

Just as Tawney's views, outlined earlier in the chapter, concerning the role and influence of values, were very similar to those expressed by Titmuss (1974), and very pertinent to the present discussion, Alan Walker's views (1984), on policy formation, are equally useful here. He believes that approaches to social planning and social policy are based on ideology and values (p5). When discussing the 'Social Construction of Social Policy' he argues, 'At best, social policy is regarded as a largely passive response to the problems or "dis-welfares" created by industrialization or economic development, rather than occupying a more positive role in producing social and economic change. It is reactive rather than creative' (p15).

Another concern is the planning process itself as Anthea Tinker acknowledges in her chapter 'Planning for a new generation of older people' (Chapter 5, 1990), she notes 'Policy-makers and professionals are naturally concerned about what services should be provided. Those who are involved in gerontology are more inclined to take a broader view. Their immediate concern is not only with the minority who will need services but also with all elderly people. Many older people will

live their lives with little recourse to services of a statutory or voluntary nature' (p59). This usefully suggests that concern with older people should not be exclusively service orientated.

In 'Preparation for retirement in the European Community: intentions and practice' Lansley et al (1990) return to the basic question of whether a service is needed at all because of the implication that retirement is a 'problem'. Although there is not the space here to precis their argument they agree that retirement is, however, a reality and further add that, 'lifelong class differences engendered in the enjoyment of health and income are exaggerated in retirement... Money plays a key role in providing access to other resources in retirement... people on the lowest incomes were the most socially isolated' (p97). This appears to be an 'amplification' of earlier life experiences.

This is a view similar to the findings of this programme and therefore much hope is being placed on the principle that EC Directives are taking precedence over national legislation. This principle of equality has given rise to the direct elimination in many areas of unequal treatment between men and women, particularly in social security (Coopmans et al, 1990), because it can tackle two lots of inequalities at the same time, those associated with gender differences and those at an economic level. This has already positively affected social security payments in this country for Carers. However, these achievements must be seen in perspective because much work still needs to be carried out in this area to overcome inequalities. A recent study (McGlone, 1991), highlights that the number of people over 65 who have divorced and not remarried will increase fourfold by 2025. She argues that this will lead to a sharp increase in the number of lonely, neglected and financially insecure pensioners and the worst affected will be women with poor or no provision of their own, or, to use the definition this thesis proposes, the economically fragile.

### Europe: 1992 and beyond

The outlook for 1992 and beyond is that there will be an increasing amount of comparison between the UK and its European neighbours. One such study was carried by Laczko (1990). He suggests that if the government were to be heeded, one would accept that old age is no longer associated with being poor. When he compares levels of poverty across Europe in his study of 'new poverty' he suggests poverty in Britain, more so than in many other EC countries, is still associated with the 'old poor'. He demonstrates that older people in the UK are much more dependent on means-tested social assistance (income support) than older people in other EC countries (p265).

Another helpful comparison has been to look at how different countries, France, Denmark and Ireland have been undertaking their approaches to community care (Bartlett, 1990, first article in a series of three).

But on a more positive note for 1992, and beyond, it does provide the EC countries with the opportunity to consider consistent levels of pension across the community. The common European currency will make it relatively simple to pay absolute similar rates in all the countries, at a rate that does not create or collude with 'pensioner poverty'. This will provide many extra opportunities for older people including that of increasing the ease of moving around the community, if they so wish.

The different sectors of service provider that carry out social policies is equally in need of attention here. Until the recent past the Private/Independent/Voluntary/State sectors have operated in parallel, despite the existence of some tensions between them, but the State has always been the senior partner which provided an overview. Under the Conservative government, primarily via Griffiths, that relationship has changed and the market ethos has now replaced the state as both the most influential and senior partner in a policy world where values and ideology changed, for the relationship between



these sectors is now open to market forces. If health and housing services are included here, those who cannot afford the market place experience the negative implications of such an approach to welfare provision, and beyond, many times over. Service sectors remain the same but their style and mode of operation have changed.

Ill-thought out and hastily applied social policy legislation without involving 'the people' in what they require, appears to have been a feature of the last few years. Just to focus momentarily on the funding provision for community care, why this does not have a specific 'ring-fenced' budget remains spurious in the times of The Audit Commission and L/A accountability. Robin Cook, the shadow health minister addressed the issue head-on in his response to the NHS and community care bill (Caring Less, 1990). He discusses 'customised community care' and 'ear-marking' budgets for such a purpose.

Perhaps a more revealing view of how 'the people' see their services is stated in the Breadline Britain 1990's MORI survey (representative sample of 1800 people) for London Weekend Television. The survey asked people how much extra they would be prepared to pay in income tax in order to help people out of poverty. The responses were: -

75% said they would pay an extra 1p per £1.00

18% said they would not

44% said they would pay an extra 5p per £1.00

44% said they would not

(Breadline Britain 1990's, p2)

The report notes that, 'If the rate of income tax were increased by 5p per pound, this would be enough to almost restore the extent to which benefits have fallen behind general living standards since 1978' (p2).

This gives not only the view from the public that they accept that welfare provision is underfunded but also that they are prepared to pay for improvements thereby implying that resources need to improve.

When considering retirement regardless of whether planning for need (Walker, A., 1984), more flexibility (Council of Europe, 1989), or more effective social security (Walker, A., 1986), many aspects of the relevant policies have very similar and overlapping ingredients. They need to start with a positive climate toward welfare provision, have a shared and consistent value base upon which ideological foundations can rest and when social policies are arrived at through due consultation they need to dove-tail into other areas such as housing, education and further afield to be compatible with our European neighbours. The present European opportunities should not be underestimated, especially from a legal perspective that includes the position of women in relation to benefits, or from the chances offered by easier travel. In this country though, many of the community care proposals could be implemented early, as discussed in chapter 14, if the political will were there.

#### Administering/Application of Policies.

'Jargon into Practice' (Palfry, 1990), is a most appropriate starting point in order to ensure that the practical application of policy is not obscured under the weight of academic ideas that have little worth in the world of service delivery. One of the most positive guides for transferring policy into practice is offered by Croft and Beresford in their discussion about 'The Relationship Between Policy and Practice' in the booklet 'From Paternalism to Participation' (1990, p29).

One aspect of applying some of the new proposals that have been discussed above will be examined in some detail in relationship to community care. If the above proposals are accepted then how can these be applied practically? The position of residential care across a range of providers (but excluding nursing care), has been selected for more detailed exploration for it acts as an example of a resource that requires a positive climate in which to operate, based upon clear values and ideology from which clear policies can be created and carried out in practice delivery. It is also an area that is important in the community care context but rarely receives the attention it

deserves. Residential care is also undergoing many changes for both adult and child care and is therefore in a state of flux. The 'dove-tailing' of policies in a multi-disciplinary way displays another way in which 'practice application', away from the rich rhetoric of some commentators, can be undertaken and demonstrated from the residential perspective.

The last few years for residential work have probably been unprecedented for their doom and gloom with one Public Enquiry after another criticising the service. However, its future need not necessarily look so bleak but it does run the risk of stagnating and becoming an irrelevant service in the local authority sector, and this should not be underestimated. It does, however appear to be in a Catch-22 position. If it changes radically again in the immediate future it can be dismissed as 'more changes' in the spirit of change for change's sake in an effort to 'keep up' with the latest developments or in a quest for identity; and if it does not it is left contemplating 'old problems' from some years ago with a question mark hanging over its professional abilities and integrity.

#### A synthesis of two Acts

Both of these issues can be tackled simultaneously. The way forward demands a radical change that not only roots out 'old problems' but creates a new role and identity in the spirit of 1990's Social Policy and does not necessarily include all the ideological values of such policy. This is a unique opportunity in the face of community care legislation and the October 1991, commencement of the 1989 Children Act. Three crucial elements are required to respond to such an opportunity.

Firstly, it is necessary to identify a role within the current Social Policy framework. Residential care does have a positive role to play within both the NHS Community Care Act and the Children Act. This is not simply a straddling role between two Acts but a positive and complementing dovetailing of two roles that reduces fragmentation and

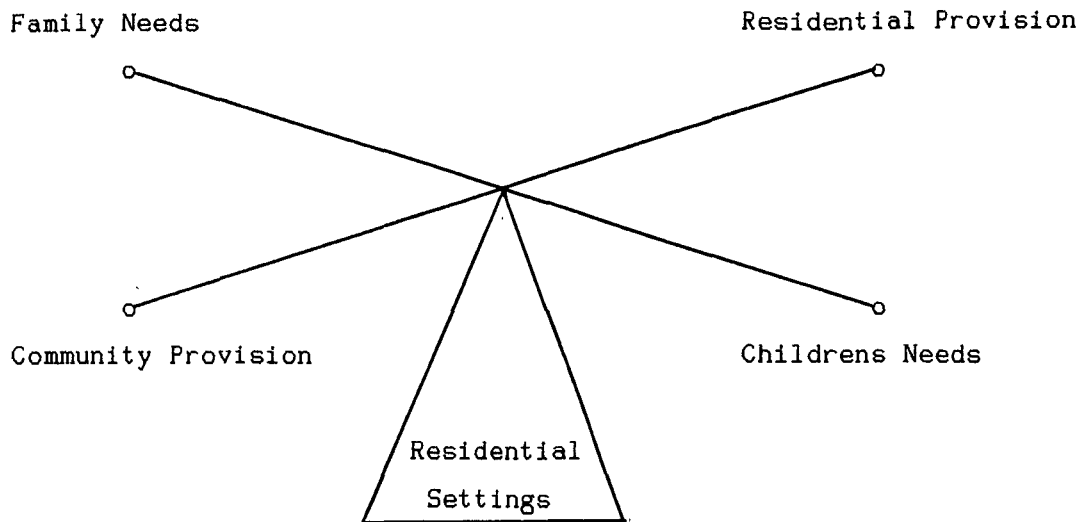
moves towards a cohesive approach to service delivery. A dialogue with service-users must also take place and their role needs specifying too.

This role identification seems fundamental to service provision as offered by residential settings and can add to the general shift towards decentralised services and improved coordination at a local level. These settings will have to act as some form of pivot that simultaneously balances the relationships between the two ends of the respective axes of the NHS and Community Care and the Children Acts (See diagram below).

Both axes are in the same Welfare Provision ideology but it must be recognised that over some issues they pull in opposite directions, as usefully outlined by Stace and Tunstall, 'Running on Different Tracks' (Comm Care, 6.12.90). Mostly however, the axes will be adjacent to one another, but what is more certain is that the axes will both need managing and the increasing importance of planning skills are plainly in need of recognition and improvement, but with careful consideration they can be incorporated jointly into the case manager/case coordinator roles.

The two polar points on the Community Care axis will be residential provision and living in the community. Residential care will have an increasingly flexible role to play especially after the imminent deregulation of services. Support groups for carers, whether for foster-parents, adult boarding-out schemes, or young carers of older relatives, including the more flexible use of day care and the managing of domiciliary care are likely examples that will be common to both axes. Additionally, there is scope for intergenerational involvement and relationships. These clearly have potential to be used positively particularly with the ever increasing geographic mobility of families. 'Service brokerage' will have to be undertaken by some professional group; those situated in residential work may be the most expedient choice.

Residential settings as a pivot



The polar points on the Children's Act axis would be the child's needs and the family's needs. Sometimes it will be synonymous with the community care axis too where there is debate about the child's place of residence/accommodation. Particularly where abused children are concerned important reparation work can be undertaken with those involved, along therapeutic lines if necessary, and perhaps ultimately some reconciliation work, again if appropriate, at a location that is safe for the child but also where adults can receive support. Support services for adults/families and child support need not necessarily be physically distant for generally the work undertaken will centre around family reparation/reconciliation and keeping the child in the community, although not necessarily with the natural parents.

Secondly, this work should be carried out in a climate that is fertile and where a positive work culture exists. This can be undertaken in the spirit of both community care and the Children Act where the separate duties placed upon L/A's of monitoring and inspection, can be fused together, instead of being separate, confused, and often having the practical consequence of divisiveness. If evaluation is added to the duties of monitoring and inspection this would create the opportunity of undertaking these duties in the spirit of professional development and service evaluation. Service users should not be denied

involvement in such processes. This is a shift of emphasis and power, thus creating a fertile environment for the growth of professionally skilled and well measured service delivery.

If clear terms of reference are identified by a service and the mode in which it is to operate, the objectives become more tangible and thus easier to attain. This is the first step in terms of identifying service provision of the highest quality because the results of the service can be measured against the requested input, as determined by the needs of the client. Although this has Positivist tendencies, which are not necessarily compatible with the majority of the thesis, this 'measurement of success' is a popular view and theme demanded by users of the services who want to know if anything has changed. Similarly this service provision can be undertaken within the intended spirit of the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act which discusses services as flexible, responsive and accountable, but service providers may be well advised to progress more cautiously when entering the world of 'the mixed economy of care' and the 'free market'.

Thirdly, and after the framework and climate for operation are identified, residential care can focus on what it is to do and how it is to do it. This will be a balance between client need and what it can realistically deliver. It is preferable that this is modest but attainable for the purposes of staff morale and for successfully achieving goals with the users of the service. Offering specialist services to troubled and vulnerable people that meets their needs can then be undertaken in a professional way.

This might include work with 'unfosterable' children or 'difficult to manage' severely demented older people and will doubtless include helping those 'in-care' transgress the divide from dependence to independence. This will include working with many abused people who will require the highest levels of care and support. Currently many of these people exist in the 'care system' but many have become disaffected with it and seek refuge elsewhere. In the case of older people it can mean they leave local authority services and go into the

private sector, or, in the case of children, they become 'runaways', which usually means life on the streets. Both children and adults do, however, have similarities with their varying degrees of homelessness and poverty, as Sheila McKechnie of Shelter and Nick Hardwick of Centerpoint constantly remind us much to the chagrin of central government and Social Services Departments.

There are many implications for such an advocated course of action but a move must be made away from colluding with a system that gets the lowest paid staff in the service to provide care for the most demanding and needy people in the community. Highly skilled staff will be a pre-requisite of such service provision and not an aspiration at some later date. The abuse and the neglect of those in residential care still continues to make headlines. The public should know and are finding out about 'their' services, therefore they must be involved in how the residential child care service currently operates, warts and all, but in the context of first giving it a clearly defined role. An alternative and more positive future could lie ahead for the residential care service and not only in relation to community care. The need and opportunity exists. There is still time for 'A Positive Choice' to be made about its future.

#### Some reflections on Policy

Some concluding comments, observations and reflections are necessary for this chapter. The 'climate' in which the creators of social policy exist remains unhelpful. As David Donnison observes in an article 'Sinking with the tide' (1991), 'We have experienced a more savage increase in inequality than any other EC country. It has been an extraordinary decade: a scandalous one, many would say...'. Elements of a positive response to such circumstances do however, exist. Peter Beresford and Ruth Lister in an article 'P for poverty - and partnership' (1991), relay a unique dialogue they had with other people where lessons were learned for fashioning a new social agenda for the 1990's. They observe, somewhat wryly, that poverty is too important to be left to the politicians and professionals, poor people

must be involved at all levels from the start. The political context however, is impossible to escape from. Inequalities still abound as many commentators note (eg Robin Cook, 1990 a, 'Whatever happened to the Black Report? Health inequalities 1980-1990'). Others take a more sceptical view (eg Coote and Pfeffer, 1991, 'Quality and the equality gap') when they explore what they consider to be the slippery concept of a buzz-word both the political Left and Right are trying to make their own. They note (p23), 'For the Right, a new-found concern with "quality" has been part of moves to restructure welfare services along quasi-commercial lines and is closely connected with the idea of "value for money"...while the Left still wants to achieve greater social and economic equality, it is now keen to distance itself from the idea that equality means uniformity...'

The task of creating alternative social policies for older people in such a 'climate' is not insurmountable but it must not be seen in isolation from those affecting other people.

As discussed above ('A synthesis of two Acts'), intergenerational involvement across client groups can be used and used positively. For example, older people have much potential to be used as a resource in child care and other forms of family support. This type of interdependency between generations need not necessarily be limited to children or residential care. Community Care legislation does not acknowledge this positive role for older people and therefore implicitly colludes with institutionalised ageism. This can only add further fuel to such fatuous and simplistic debates as the 'workers versus pensioners', which have no place in serious discussions.

Here dominant values and ideology are crucial to understand because of their influence. An example of this is the insidious way in which the government is employing the 'Citizen's Charter' (1991). It appears to be deliberately confusing what is meant by citizenship and camouflaging further existing regressive social policies. Many Law Centres, Neighbourhood Centres and the Citizens Advice Bureaux have effective records of achieving some of the same objectives as the



Citizen's Charter but have had to decrease their services and close offices due to reductions in grants. Stepping back from such political approaches as giving with one hand and taking back with the other are a pre-requisite of involving the whole community in the debate about welfare provision.

The range and framework of policy proposals that have been discussed here are not intended to be an exhaustive list of prescribed 'answers' but they give an indication of some tangible examples of alternatives available. How they can be employed, in a different strategic approach to the provision of welfare that includes the dove-tailing and integrating of the differing parts of policy, has been considered. It was also important to understand the administering and application of such policies. One aspect of the policy, residential care as an element of welfare provision, was chosen to demonstrate how it could be achieved in practice, including which parts of the policies, where it could be carried out and who would be involved.

This approach has therefore identified many integral parts to a sequence of factors and events that are required when policy changes are to be made. Amendments and changes of policy cannot be seen in isolation from the other factors that have been highlighted.

The analysis of policy has much to offer, here it has been as a result of interpreting data from the research programme and has been influenced by such a stance. This is not to detract from its worth as Pollitt et al suggest in their article 'No Hiding Place: On the Discomforts of Researching the Contemporary Policy Process' (1990), when discussing the merits of policy ethnography '...it has a distinctive contribution to make to our understanding of the policy process' (P188).

Robert Walker (1985) considers this further when contemplating the worth of research projects saying, 'The project's impact on the development of policy and on the understanding and definition of the policy domain constitutes a component of worth' (p192), while its

impact on other policy domains is important too. He adds, 'Clearly, the importance of these components will be mediated by the adeptness of policy formulation based on the research and by other contextual factors. Finally, the assessment of worth would take account of the contribution made to the general body of social science theory appertaining to the phenomena studied' (p192). This programme has contributed on that basis.

2

## CHAPTER 17

### Conclusion

Academics and practitioners concerned with social policy issues will surely consider it intolerable that at the beginning of the 1990's that a research programme such as this finds that half its respondents are suffering from economic hardship and, as a consequence, experience an inferior or second rate life-style in their retirement. If this proportion were generalisable country-wide it would mean that between 5 and 6 million older people are destined to a similar form of existence.

This raises further questions about the role that older people seek and are afforded in contemporary society beyond those that have already been addressed in this thesis. At this point, however, those new debates and discussion lie beyond the bounds of this programme.

The closing chapter will reflect the whole research programme, including process. It will include comments and observations linked by the common theme of 'powerlessness' because the socially incarcerated can be characterised in these terms, given their economically fragile background based in poverty. The discussion will initially focus upon power and will move towards some thoughts on the welfare state. Some personal evaluative reflections will be offered by the researcher before the final concluding comments end the research programme.

Pluralist theory is based on an interpretation of the political system in modern societies which highlights the competitive nature of group interests. The latter is supposed to stop power being disproportionately allocated to any one group or class. Currently in this country it is perhaps unwise to talk of ruling elites because of many divergencies of interest; however, if the pluralist view is subscribed to it denies the discrimination meted out to people on the basis of such characteristics as race, class and gender. What has been argued strongly in this work is that the economic stance taken by the macro

state and the resultant experience of the economically fragile at the micro level exacerbates and manifests those inequalities further. From this viewpoint it is therefore possible to develop the argument and accept that those in control of the economic reins are in a position of power and control over many aspects of the lives of those without power. This has to be acknowledged as a structural relationship which exists independently of the wishes of individuals, sentiments that sociology would surely subscribe to.

What are the implications then for economically fragile older people in their position of powerlessness in such a scenario? Before addressing the case of older people in particular it is worth dwelling upon three other contexts or scene setting views, none of which have reputations for radical action.

The CBI, The Church... setting the current welfare context!

Firstly, the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), in the Report 'Initiatives Beyond Charity' (1988), produced by their task force on business and urban regeneration, questioned one of the present government's basic and fundamental tenets of operation, their non-interventionist economic policies. Two of the four main conclusions from the Report provided an outright attack on such an approach. 'First, business must provide the leadership, and in particular the vision to reverse the cycle of economic and social decline...raising the pride and aspirations of ordinary citizens (paras 1-9). Second, urban decay is a problem whose solution lies beyond charity...American cities provide a harsh warning of the penalties for failing to take timely corrective action...The end result is an underclass of people virtually excluded from the rest of the economy. As Chapter 2 describes, there are worrying signs of this development in London and other UK cities' (paras 10-19).

Another publication which continues this theme is the Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's commission on urban priority areas 'Faith In The City' (1985). This made many recommendations for consequent

action that the Government and the Church of England should undertake. Of particular interest to this programme, and aimed specifically at the Government, they commented 'The concept of "care in the community" for people who might otherwise be institutionalised must be supported by adequate resources to allow the provision of proper locally-based support services for people (especially women) caring for vulnerable and handicapped people' (para 12.26 and p 366). This proved to be a prophetic statement. However, a broader and more significant question is addressed in the conclusion of the Report. 'Perhaps the most important wider question concerns the structure of our society. One submission to us put it bluntly: "The exclusion of the poor is pervasive and not accidental. It is organized and imposed by powerful institutions which represent the rest of us." The critical issue to be faced is whether there is any serious political will to set in motion a process which will enable those who are at present in poverty and powerless to rejoin the life of the nation' (para 15.6 and p 359).

Thirdly, Frank Field, a Labour MP of Centre/Right of Centre whose seat is under challenge from Militant, is unequivocal in his criticism of Conservative Policy. He describes, '...Mrs Thatcher's drive to make the distribution of income and wealth ever more unequal. The extent and consequences of the changes brought about by the Prime Minister's approach should not be underestimated...changes in income levels has already led to a widening of the dispersion of life chances; on surviving birth, on earnings and income, on health and morbidity' (Field, 1989, p 66).

#### Family Policy Studies Centre, British Gas... and Older People

These comments set the wider general scene; the following section turns to more specific comments on older people in particular. Three recent commentators include British Gas, the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry (ABPI) and the Family Policy Studies Centre.

Firstly, Francis McGlone in her report 'An Ageing Population' (1991) from the Family Policy Studies Centre predicts that the number of people over 65 who have divorced and not remarried will increase fourfold by 2025. She argues that one in seven women could spend retirement in poverty unless divorce courts award them a share of their ex-husband's pension; worst hit will be women with poor or no pension of their own. This has clear implications for community care resourcing as the number of lone older people increases.

Secondly, Laing and Hall for ABPI produced a report 'The Challenges of Ageing' (1991), which generally suggests that retired people will need to fend for themselves. They say '...many new pensioners are adversely affected by early retirement and by consequent loss of rights to occupational pensions following the employment shake out of the 1970's and 1980's' (p 37). When discussing the Government's rhetoric about community care they note that provision consists of, 'often patchy services for state funded clientele' (p 43), and when discussing the long term care of older people they add, 'It is also likely to be increasingly privately funded, with state funding concentrated on providing a safety net for elderly people without means of their own... people will have to envisage exhausting their own resources before becoming eligible for state funding' (p 43).

Dr Eric Midwinter also carried out a study, on behalf of British Gas, 'The British Gas Report on Attitudes to Ageing 1991', it was conducted in May and NOP interviewed 764 people. The findings established that many people were on inadequate incomes, with 53% of respondents falling into the lowest three of eleven financial bands (Table 10 of the Report). Additionally, 60% said they could not afford to heat to heat their homes well (Table 53 of the Report).

As can be seen from the analysis of the above six examples, especially the latter 3 which are age-specific, the sentiments expressed on the basis of this programme's findings do not stand alone. On the contrary, together with others, it further fuels the gathering pace of opposition to what the government is doing to older people. Perhaps

where this programme differs from the above examples is with its theoretical analysis of the subsequent data that the studies have created. Only Frank Field and the Church of England begin to enter this next stage, and both somewhat tentatively, when they consider the position of groups without power in society.

On reflection it was never a part of Mrs Thatcher's claims that she would reduce inequality, but she regularly claimed to increase opportunities. Ironically it can be argued that the latter was achieved but at the expense of the former. For example, Stephen Jenkins (1991), of the University of Bath's Centre for Fiscal Studies in his article 'Living standards and the diverging "Thatcher" effect' suggests that in 1978 the richest 10% had an income just more than 10 times that of the poorest band, but in 1988, it was almost 18 times higher. It seems that some people had more opportunities than others, not unlike George Orwell's maxim about equality, but some are more equal than others (Animal Farm, ch 10).

The Church continues to snipe at Government policy. Liverpool's Bishops Sheppard and Warlock, the Anglican and Catholic representatives respectively, continue their long on-going defence of the poor. In their joint publication, 'Why the poor should not be getting the blame' (1991), in their riposte to the 1914-18 War song 'It's the poor wot gets the blame', they challenge assumptions about poor people in their dioceses. But they now do it in terms that include 'poverty', 'powerlessness' and the 'underclass'. This is an example where the analysis has moved on to look more deeply at the underlying issues. In the above case the Bishops vent their anger at how the Audit Office applauded the reduction in Benefits paid out in the Merseyside region when the new Social Fund arrangements were started. The consequences of gaps in the Benefits system are precisely the subject of the Bishops' investigation.

### Welfare on the defensive!

Welfare provision appears to be under attack; it is therefore worth exploring it further. What then, can be said about the current 'state of play' about welfare provision and the continuance of the welfare state? These questions have been constantly arising through this programme. In The Autumn of 1991, prior to a General Election that must be held in the first half of 1992, welfare, and especially the health aspects, are very much at the top of the political agenda.

The 'Welfare State' has only been firmly in place in Western societies since the Second World War. However, the economic climate since the late 1970's, as previously discussed in more detail in chapter 13, has led to cross party support for the welfare state being called into question. This has led to polar positions by the two main parties being adopted along political lines. What, up until that period, had been the slow but sure extension of social rights, as diagnosed by Marshall (1973), seems to have been turned around and be retreating backwards along the same path. These challenges to the status quo of the welfare state came primarily from the Right, Thatcher in Britain, Kohl in Germany and Reagan in the US (Krieger, 1986). In this country the changing patterns of party support can be connected to this formative period of social policy evolution.

Many distinguished figures in the field of social welfare and social policy have explored many of the dimensions of social welfare with ever increasingly sophisticated levels of analysis (eg Bean & MacPherson [eds] 1983). In endeavouring to make some sense of the plethora of ideas it is perhaps becoming clearer that the economic argument is, in fact, secondary to that which surrounds political ideology. This area is well documented too (eg George & Wilding, 1976; Taylor-Gooby, 1985), where it is argued that dominant social values and the social, economic and political arena in which social policy operates are interrelated. The approach to the distribution of resources, or not, as the case may be, are defined and determined by



the dominant ideology. The economic approach thus evolves from the dominating ideology.

What has become more explicit since the 1970's for the public is what opposing party political ideologies represent in terms of delivering welfare provision. However, the politicians frequently massage the complexity of the issues into over-simplified terms, which obscures them from their original important levels of debate, as demonstrated by the likes of Richard Titmuss's *Selected Writings* by Brian Abel-Smith and Kay Titmuss (eds), *The Philosophy of Welfare* (1987).

A study of existing services operating in a clear ideological framework has been undertaken by Beresford and Croft (1986) who look at how schemes of service provision can move forward and towards the democratisation of public services. From a background in community action and service user groups, the authors explore the relationship between public policies and political structures. Moving from a theoretical critique they propose practical guidelines for increasing people's say and involvement in services and making a reality of dialogue and partnership between agencies, users and people.

A cautionary observation should perhaps be made here, because the localisation/ neighbourhood orientation of services can lead to further inequalities. These may include the following: very articulate and organised groups benefiting to the detriment of others; the 'unofficial' care by women eventually justifying spending cuts; or the reluctance of some local authority service committees to relinquish any real power to local people regarding resources or decision making. This seems reminiscent of 'The solution that started a problem' in *United Kingdom? Class, Race and Gender Since The War* (Ellis Cashmore, 1989).

The language of Thatcherite social policy which is tainted by slogans borrowed from the competitive business world such as; competitive tendering, opting out, enterprising and positive deficits, clearly sets the tone for any future debates.

A number of challenges therefore face social policy. What is perhaps most important before considering 'solutions' to such challenges is to understand the present. Beresford and Croft, as discussed above, attempt such a process. Other commentators do too; two are particularly worthy of mention in the context of this programme, these are firstly, Martin Bulmer in his chapter 'The underclass, empowerment and public policy' (1989), and secondly, Peter Berger's 'In praise of particularity: the concept of mediating structures' (1980).

Interestingly, this programme has both contributed to some of these debates and raised further questions about them. For example, what does 'the community' mean in the present climate which is based on individualism, where the concept of society itself, has been called into question at the highest political level? There is some certainty that the debates surrounding the welfare state will continue; whether it becomes much more politically and ideologically focused, and thus polarised, as suggested above, will have to be the subject of another thesis.

#### Research, learning and the researcher

It is important to consider what the researcher has gained from carrying out the research programme. A useful framework for such evaluative and reflective considerations is offered by the Loflands (1984), in their chapter 'Guiding Consequences', and this will be loosely adhered to here.

What have been the personal consequences for the researcher? In a sense this was somewhat determined by the overall structure - in this case from the CNAA - for consequences and outcomes have been the guiding principles throughout the entire process, the programme being based on the 'grounded research' approach, and so they do not just appear at the end. This is probably best encapsulated by the term 'learning', but this took place at many different levels, ranging from skill development, including interviewing, to sharpening intellectual powers, including increased abilities of analysis, synthesizing data

and interpretation. The learning process involved using the experience and advice from others; one such piece that became invaluable was the keeping of a researchers diary as suggested by Robert Burgess (1984).

In this case the researcher's learning has itself been transformed into extra personal confidence, which has manifested itself in much of the 'new' research material being used to inform the researcher's teaching role and to contribute to wider debates with colleagues and other interested parties alike.

On a lighter note but of equal importance to the researcher's commitment and understanding of the programme has been the elements of enjoyment and of humour. The recollections of people's life experiences had been so engrossing that the researcher was virtually transfixed at times when rich webs of personal life histories were being woven in his presence. There were many occasions when humour was used as a form of release during some tense and painful personal recollections that may have concerned partners, children or pets. But a particularly indelible and humourous memory is the 9th of February, 1989, the second day of serious gales that caused widespread structural damage across the country. The respondent, after the main interview was complete, attempted to convert the researcher to 'The Lord's way of life'. After a polite refusal the researcher departed to the sounds of 'I hope you repent your decision'. Later that afternoon the researcher spent some time prostrate on his roof holding it down in the gale. Causal connections between the two episodes are still being sought!

Of course the discussion about learning is nearly limitless but it is worth noting that perhaps one of the biggest dilemmas for the researcher was never really properly resolved, although it was addressed in the research methodology. How is it possible to be rigorous and treat data objectively whilst balancing this against the personal view that older people are discriminated against? No apologist caveats are offered, the programme will therefore rest on its merits.

### Consequences for the older people studied

What are the consequences for the older people studied? Ethical issues have been constantly to the fore and some respondents have shown a keen interest to keep in touch with the programme's development and ultimate conclusions, but this has been at a personal level. However, at this stage it is difficult to envisage the impact on the evolving body of knowledge relevant to the area studied. It has contributed to the knowledge and understanding of the process under investigation and, to an extent, to the development of theoretical perspectives. However, changes in social policy which influences welfare provision, are notoriously slow to be made.

It is impossible to know whether, in this time when welfare is among the items at the top of the political agenda, such ideas as this programme suggests will 'catch on' right away and shape things to come for many years, or alternatively, will drift about in the literature for a considerable period of time and then, perhaps, suddenly 'take hold'. A sobering and realistic observation is made by the Loflands, 'And, sad to report, many (probably most) published reports have very little or no impact on the corpus of social knowledge' (1984, p 158). And that's after publication!

More broadly though, the type of analysis offered here may inform wider social and political debates. To use terms like 'good' or 'bad' would be undignified because those researchers with similar interests will make their own judgments on the value of such a work. In this area of enquiry, given the pliable nature of social trends and the 'shifting sands' of community care, it has been impossible to predict or guide consequences with any level of certainty. The programme has raised more questions than it has resolved, which, in itself, is not an unusual phenomenon, for it continues the pursuit of knowledge.

In a position of such fluidity the Loflands put it both lucidly and succinctly: 'The most certain thing you can do is to "start where you are" and, armed with ethical sensitivity and the discipline of the

craft, have faith in what you are doing, irrespective of the presumed consequences' (1984, p 160). Here, in the spirit of that advice, the hypothesis has been addressed with a methodological soundness, and much has been learned from it.

Further reflections from the researcher focus on relationships and language. Many relationships have been explored in the thesis, how the structure of the macro state has acted as a barrier to micro social action or is essentially involved in its production, being an example. Whether the new Citizen's Charter just adds to Government's cosmetic profile, or whether, beyond the rhetoric, it changes opportunities for the economically fragile, remains to be seen because that development is largely new and still emerging. However, the position of older women, with particular emphasis paid to their economic position, past and present, also received considerable attention in the research, (and continues to elsewhere, see 'Citizenship engendered', Lister, 1991). This has perhaps become the central feature of the programme, although it must be acknowledged that a 'critical view' is offered, which may present to the reader as an overly pessimistic or bleak set of perspectives emanating from the programme. This is however, an unintended consequence.

### Metaphors

Some aspects of the language used and developed are also worthy of brief expansion. There has been a wide use of metaphors, such as 'experiential gaps' and 'pervasive economics'. The use of metaphors was intended to provide an enrichment of understanding rather than making discourse more ornamental. The term 'social incarceration' and 'economically fragile' though, for the purposes of this programme, have their origins in Symbolism (Sperber, 1975). The former was used in attempting to unravel the complex and paradoxical position of trying to explain the freeing of people from their own communities. The latter developed into being a manifestation of the term 'working class'. Moreover, the symbolism may also reflect wider society where

attempts have been made to talk about 'consumers' and 'customers'.  
What happened to people?

### Final reflections

For the last few concluding comments it is appropriate and necessary to state where this programme now stands, from a critical viewpoint and the 'Theoretical position and perspective' (chap 3), following its completion.

The present Government's attempts to shift the focus of social policy away from a pluralist and collectivist welfare provision is now overt in its process of marginalising economically fragile older people. The Government's approach appears to be directed at keeping these older people in a state of marginality to prevent them from demanding more resources to match their needs. It appears maintain them as 'needy' and 'vulnerable' and exploits their feelings of guilt when asking for resources which are rightfully theirs. This question of resources matching need is paramount.

This stance towards the economically fragile perhaps symbolises broader issues, for it is unlikely to advance society towards an equitable or efficacious way of accepting older people back into mainstream society. On the contrary, it militates against this. The absence of support in the community for the economically fragile and the expectation that women should care unquestioningly for older people (Acknowledging the caveat by Finch 1989 and 1989a), leads to stress and anxiety for carers irrespective of whether they are relatives. In extreme cases of desperate and exhausted carers, an increasing phenomenon is that of abuse (McCreadie, 1991), directed at the older people in their care. Here we have two powerless groups of people acting out their subordination and marginalisation.

The position of the Left in the past decade has failed to recognise the oppression suffered by older people, with the exception of very few commentators that include; Bornat, Bowl and Phillipson, whose many

and various works have been referred to many times throughout the programme. The role of the capitalist mode of production upon relationships, organisations and the oppressive elements within welfare provision still require further examination. As Bowl (1987, p 56) says, 'The problems of ageing are differentially experienced according to class, gender and race and are influenced crucially by continuities in the distribution of material rewards and opportunities for power and personal development earlier in life'. The dominant forces in the social order and the oppressed classes and sectors are in a continuous state of struggle. This ongoing movement and challenge in social relations begins to constitute the individual personality.

As Ford and Sinclair (1987, p159) say, 'Old age has to be politicised, and become an issue of importance and knowledge to those not yet old'. Perhaps those political parties who advocate common ownership of the means of production and distribution will heed their advice and grasp the nettle. The advancement of civil and political rights, in addition to economic rights, not only to older people but to all, is a fundamental and necessary course to pursue. The older electorate is ready for mobilisation. In some parts of the U.S. older people have considerable power and the Government of the day in Norway would ignore the older population at its peril.

This non-mobilised position of older people may be seen as 'natural', self-evident and not worthy of action. As Fennell et al say, 'This is what Marx was driving at when he said that, when we try to appreciate the world, we appreciate it in its mystified sense. What he meant by this important insight was that for much of the time the social world seems immensely natural to us, so natural that we do not question it and do not seek to modify or control it' (1988, p 52).

Equally as specifically, economically fragile older people receiving welfare provision in the community care sense are, at the beginning of this 1990's decade, I suggest, being incarcerated within their own community. The Government of the day and its corresponding ideology is the chief instigator, which is indeed a grim and insidious indictment

upon their stewardship of Social Policy. This is not an occurrence by default or an accidental paradox but an orchestrated move by a 'Macho' and paternalistic capitalist state which uses rhetoric that verges on the polemic. Sadly it also duplicates many of the shortcomings offered by their residential services at the beginning of the 1980's decade.

Moreover, the journey that economically fragile older people are currently negotiating through social policy is ambiguous for the benefits afforded them are only a charade which has been masqueraded as Social Policy 'developments' by the Tories. Resources for welfare do still not match need. The years of barren social policy that exclude and disenfranchise are taking their toll. This ambiguity rests in a flawed dominant ideology in this context, for the more power it offers to the economically fragile individual in the community, the more it seemingly wrests away. As a consequence the quality of care, policy and morale of those involved mirror the spiral of Social Incarceration (App. Figure 1), they decline inexorably.

The Government has to take responsibility for its own actions regarding its inadequacy over community care. For it is now attempting to be unfettered from the invidious position it has created for itself where it is unable to either harvest the political benefits or evade the responsibility for its failure of duty. With older people in an ambiguous position and the government in an invidious position the future looks unwelcoming for the economically fragile older person. In this decade, with the increasing political mobilisation of older people, the electoral dynamite (to borrow the sentiments of Spitzer, 1975), may well explode at the Government's expense! This programme has disentangled some of the factors involved thus making the position more explicit.

David Barrett

October 14th, 1991.



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**West London Institute  
of Higher Education**



Department of Social Work  
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APPENDIX 1

RESEARCH PROJECT

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

My name is David Barrett and I live in Crouch Hall Lane, Redbourn, Herts. I am a Senior Lecturer in the Social Work Department of the above college where I train Social Workers. I took up my present job in 1987 having worked previously in Social Work Practice for 10 years in the North London area. I am a qualified Social Worker and a graduate in Social Policy.

I am currently undertaking some research supervised by Dr J Gregory and Dr J Ford of the Middlesex Polytechnic, which will lead to the award of an MPhil/PhD degree.

The intention of the Research Project is to ask retired people in Luton and Redbourn about their experiences of retirement and how they see the Government's Welfare Policies affecting their lives.

Firstly, you may not wish to participate, however, if you do, it would entail 3 interviews - 2 short and 1 long - at a time and place of your convenience. Of course you have the right to end the interviews at any time without explanation. Any items discussed will remain strictly confidential between the two of us.

Thankyou for your help and goodwill in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

David Barrett  
Senior Lecturer in Social Work  
24.3.89

## APPENDIX 2

### DATA CREATION SCHEDULE - Prompt

#### INTERNAL WORLD - Life History

- 1.1 Where would you say you originated?
- 1.2 What was your occupational career in early, middle and later life?
- 1.3 What was the main job of your mother and father during their lives?
- 1.4 How would you describe your family circumstances in early, middle and pre-retirement life?
- 1.5 Is this type of accommodation (specify) like that you were born into?
- 1.6 (Details not required) Do you have additional income than the O. A. P. ?
- 1.7 How do you think your own financial position has affected your past/present?

#### INTERNAL WORLD - Meanings in life

- 2.1 What do you think is the most important factor in your life now?
- 2.2 How do you currently see your own small world in which you live?
- 2.3 How do you think other people see you managing your life?
- 2.4 Do you think other people worry about you living here?
- 2.5 How much control do you feel you have in taking major decisions (eg moving)?
- 2.6 Does anyone else exert major control over your decision making?
- 2.7 What value do you place on life these days?
- 2.8 Do you feel dependent on the state for your well-being?
- 2.9 Does this (2.8) influence your own self-opinion/esteem?

#### EXTERNAL WORLD - Contacts/Interactions

- 3.1 Who do you have contact (not phone) with living here - everyone/anyone?

3.2 Who are your 4 most regular visitors - what is their frequency?

3.3 Which contact person is most valuable to you, irrespective of frequency?

#### EXTERNAL WORLD - Social Aspects

4.1 How would you describe your social life?

4.2 How, if at all, could it be improved?

4.3 Can you specify the main people, organisations and venues in your social life?

4.4 Some retired people feel marooned, lonely and isolated in their Community-Do you know people in those circumstances?

4.5 Do you think people may say the same about you?

4.6 Do you feel this way (4.4) about yourself?

#### EXTERNAL WORLD - Life Style

5.1 How would you describe your life-style?

5.2 How do you think other people describe your life style?

5.3 How tolerable is your life style?

5.4 What social standing/status do you give yourself?

5.5 What social standing/status do you think other people give you?

5.6 Does your health affect your life style? - if yes probe Q.

5.7 How much does your own financial position influence life style? - and then probe re food : clothing : fuel : housing : annual holiday.

5.8 What other important factors influence the way you lead your life?

5.9 Would you say your financial position dictates or dominates your life style?

#### WORLD OF POLICY MAKERS - Issues (G = General, P = Particular)

6.1G Is the retired population the responsibility of the Welfare State?

P Do you think the Welfare State has a responsibility to care for you?

6.2G What priority do you think this Government gives to retired people?

P How does this (6.2G) affect you?

6.3G Some people say that retired people get what they pay for in their retirement, what do you think they mean?

P Do you think you now get what you've previously paid for and are entitled to?

6.4G The increasing proportion of retired people has many consequences, how do you think the Government sees these consequences?

P The Governments views of these (6.4G) how might they affect you?

6.5G This winter Mrs. Curry, then a junior minister, made some widely publicised comments about how pensioners should wrap up in the cold, how do think they were received by these people?

P How did you receive her comments?

6.6G There is nearly 10M retired people in the UK, how much power do you think they have?

P How much power do you think you have?

6.7G What influence do you think you have over these issues that affect retired people generally?

P As 6.7G - that affect you directly?

#### WORLD OF POLICY MAKERS - Policies

7.1G Have you heard of the term Community Care, if so, in what context?

P Does Community Care affect you? (may not be relevant)

7.2G Do you think the O.A.P. keeps pace with inflation?

P Is your O.A.P. enough to live on?

7.3G Some people say the general thrust of the Governments pub/exp cuts reduces Hous/S.S./Health services to pensioners; do you agree? If so, specify how in each case.

P How, if at all, has this reduction (7.3G) affected you directly?

7.4G The growth of private sector services (same as 7.3G) probably has consequences for the retired population-how do you see these?

P How, if at all, do these affect you?

7.5G Which public Welfare service do you think is most important to retired people?

P Ditto-7.5G-to you?

7.6G Retired people are eligible to certain entitlements. Some people say they should not be in this financially vulnerable position in the first place. What do you say to this?

P Do you feel in a financially vulnerable position?



7.7G Being eligible for certain entitlements and Benefits can be a double edged sword; yes, there are advantages, but is there an element of 'keeping them in their place' (It's sometimes termed Dependency Culture) What do you think generally?

P Ditto - 7.7G - relate to you?

7.8G What influence do you think you have over these policies that affect retired people generally?

P Ditto - 7.8G - you specifically?

End of Prompt - Reminder to debrief - the next part of the process..

### APPENDIX 3

#### CODING FRAME CATEGORIES

##### ANTECEDENTS.

References to background enabling class classification.

##### ECONOMIC POSITION.

- |              |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|
|              | 1 | Support from family.                              |
| EP 1 Latent  | 2 | Other support, ie Church; Round Table; Neighbours |
| Factors      | 3 | Influences/Attitudes.                             |
|              | 4 | Old Age Pension references.                       |
| EP2 Manifest | 5 | Welfare Benefits.                                 |
| Factors      | 6 | Influences/Attitudes.                             |

##### RESOURCE ELIGIBILITY.

- |              |    |   |
|--------------|----|---|
|              | 7  | Vulnerability.                            |
| RE1 Latent   | 8  | Controlling/Restricting.                  |
|              | 9  | Old Age Pension references.               |
| RE2 Manifest | 10 | Other Resource/Entitlements/Service refs. |
| RE3 Future   | 11 | Comments on what the future holds.        |

##### PERSONAL WORTH.

- |              |    |  |
|--------------|----|--|
|              | 12 | Government opinions/views of Older People. |
| PW1 Latent   | 13 | Other peoples' opinions/views of person.   |
|              | 14 | Personal opinions/views of self.           |
|              | 15 | Government opinions/views of Older People. |
| PW2 Manifest | 16 | Other peoples' opinions/views of person.   |
|              | 17 | Personal opinions/views of self.           |

##### LIFE CHANCES.

- |              |    |  |
|--------------|----|--|
| LC1 Latent   | 18 | Constraining/restraining factors on future life chances. |
| LC2 Manifest | 19 | Constraining/restraining factors on future life chances. |
| LC3 Future   | 20 | Comments on what the future holds.                       |

APPENDIX 4

DATA CREATION RECORDING SHEETS      REF. NO

SCHED. REF	RESPONDENTS SIGNIFICANT REPLIES	NON VERBAL CUES RESPON.    INTV.	OTHER COMMENTS ie FEELINGS

APPENDIX 5

DATA CREATION SUMMARY SHEET & SUMMARISED CODING FRAME

Respondent No.

	<u>Number of references on transcript</u>	
	POSITIVE ASPECTS	NEGATIVE ASPECTS
<u>ECONOMIC POSITION</u>		
<u>RESOURCE ELIGIBILITY</u>		
<u>PERSONAL WORTH</u>		
<u>LIFE CHANCES</u>		
TOTAL		

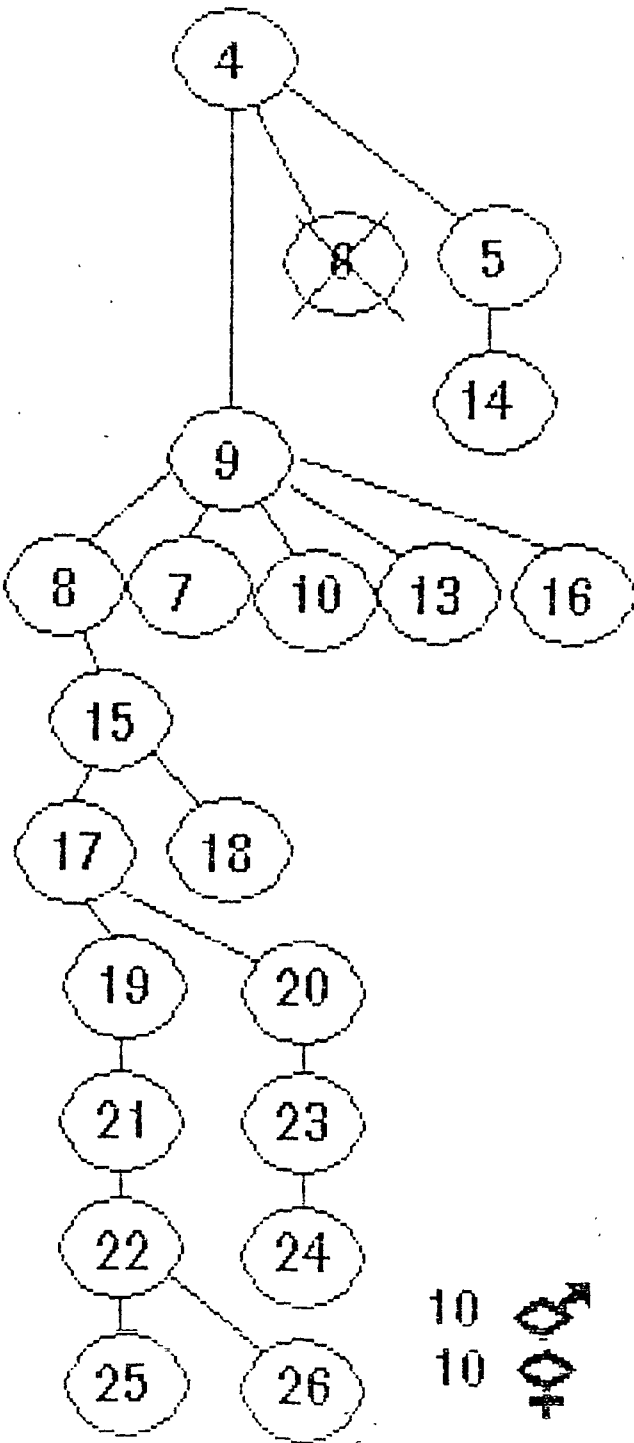
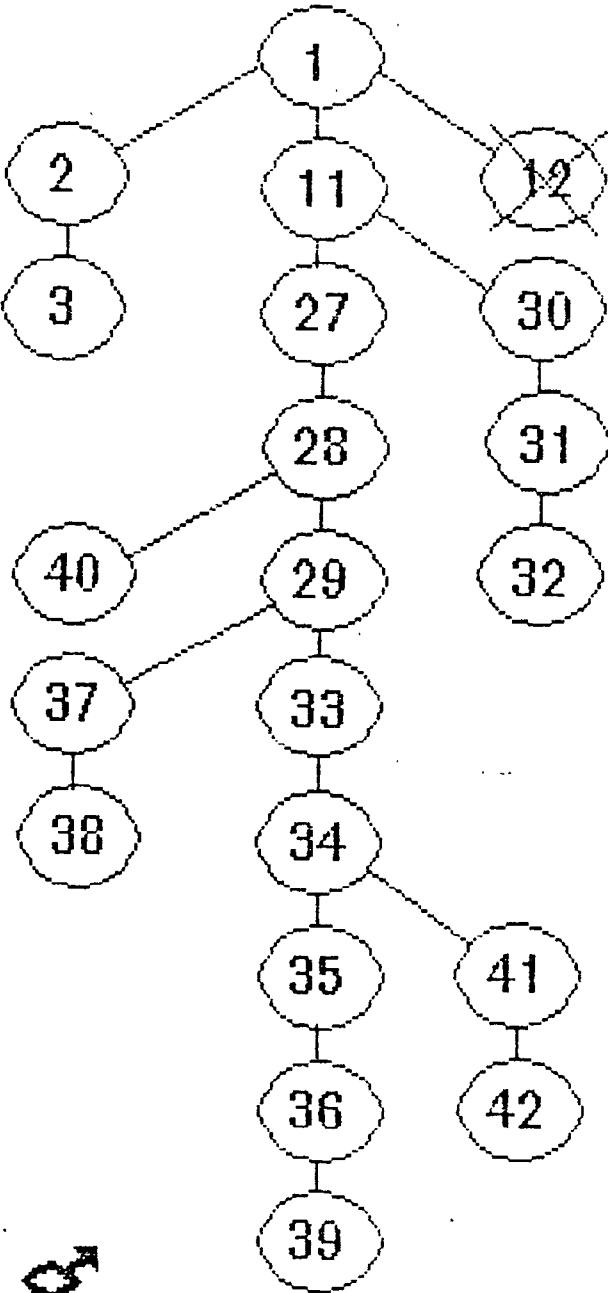
Economically Fragile YES / NO

Appendix 6

'Snowball' Pathways

Luton  
Site

Redbourn  
Site



10 ♂  
10 ♀

10 ♂  
10 ♀

## APPENDIX 7

### Transcript of Respondent 1 - An Economically Fragile Woman

Outlined below are specific references from a transcript. References such as these form the backbone of the data created for the programme. The examples given below have each been counted as 1 n in the data, unless stated otherwise. The responses from the Respondent only are given in the transcript, the headings from the Interview Schedule (App 2) having been erased. The examples given below are identified in the text by page references and are underlined accordingly.

Included below are:

- 1 The n numbers from the Summarised Coding Frame (App 5).
- 2 An example of a reference counted from the Positive and Negative aspects of the 4 coding categories ie 8 examples.
- 3 An example of an ambiguous reference that was omitted from counting.
- 4 An example of a reference that was repeated but not coded twice.
- 5 An example of a reference that could have been in more than one category.

#### 1 The n numbers from the Summarised Coding Frame of Respondent 1

	Positive Aspects	Negative Aspects
Economic Position	13	25
Resource Eligibility	9	23
Personal Worth	10	19
Future Life Chances	10	11

#### 2 An single example from each of the 8 groupings from 1 above

##### Economic Position

###### Positive

'I've got a bob or two I can pounce on but what's a thousand pounds nowadays.' (p3)

###### Negative

'I rub along - on Income Support - on 42 quid a week.' (p2)

### Resource Eligibility

#### Positive

'Well I'm subsidised with my rent, without that it would be pointless, useless almost...' (p7)

#### Negative

'They don't even know I'm here, I've never had a Health Visitor come up here...I cope.' (p7)

### Personal Worth

#### Positive

'I was inclined not to tell anyone about the Supplementary, but I've come to the conclusion why shouldn't you, there's no disgrace in it.' (p3)

#### Negative

'I've always scraped by and scratched.' (p2)

### Future Life Chances

#### Positive

'I'm content as long as I've got a bob or two in my pocket.' (p5)

#### Negative

'Your savings don't go up with inflation do they.' (p8)

### 3 An example of an ambiguous reference that was omitted from coding.

Probe: 'How is that for you when people tell you to shut up?

'It's a joke to me. I only shut up if I want to. Nobody else only the family, I can take it from my family, I know them.' (p9)

At face value the above comment can be seen as a 'joke' - as the respondent sees it - but that approach can also be construed as a coping mechanism where the individual is given little worth or value by her family.

### 4 An example of a reference that was repeated but not coded twice.

Respondent 1 discusses the price of the TV licence (p4), which was coded in one way, and goes on to make a similar point later (p8), the latter point was not coded again.

### 5 An example of a reference that could have been in more than one category.

'My sister buys me a bar of Cadburys chocolate every week - the 1lb bar - I miss it if she doesn't. I say she spoilt me. I never troubled.' (p7)

It could be argued that this could be coded under any of the 4 coding categories. In examples such as these the following question was borne in mind; how would the Respondent have prioritised it? In this case it was coded as a positive aspect of her economic position. The respondent viewed it as a small luxury that her own financial position prohibited her from having.

Page 1 of transcript

#### INTERNAL WORLD - Life History

'Harlington.' (A Bedfordshire village)

'When I first started work I think I was 13, I wanted to earn a bit, I worked at the coker works in Dallow Road then I worked there until I got married in 1929. So what was I then? I was born 07. Then I went into the hat trade, ofcourse I didn't know the trade but I went for 6 shillings a week to learn the trade, just after I married. I always wanted to be doing something but I didn't like sitting about. That was graft I tell you, for 6 bob a week.'

'Dad was a farmworker at Harlington, of course I was only a kid when we lived at Harlington. I was only about 7 when we came up to Luton to live. 1929 I got married. Dad worked at the Omnier Works, so that would be after that - after the First World War - that was the Electrolux, the Omnier Works at that time run by, now that's gone, Hewlitt and Blando. Mum was very much busy as you can imagine. Being a mother to 10.'

'Well of course anybody who had a family were poor because there was nothing. Dad was only a farmworker. As the girls grew up they went into Service. My sister went to Australia, after marrying at 18, going to Australia at 19. And moving up to Luton the other girls went in the hat trade. My youngest brother went in the hat trade. My eldest brother went in the foundry. The eldest brother of all went to the farm then into the Army at 16 - the first World War - he was a horseman. He said that horses always had to be looked after first. He said that it broke his heart after the War was over that the horse had to be slaughtered. He said that he had to look after the horses well during the War because you could get a man for a shilling but you couldn't get a horse for a shilling. That's something isn't it.

After the second World War we were put to anything, you could trim, you could machine, cut, do anything to be useful. Of course the best people had to go to war.

Skilled. I argue about that now because you get adverts in the paper asking for people to work machines but you've got to know how to handle a hat.'

'Oh no! I was born in Harlington, a cottage at the cross-roads. We were living in that because Dad fell out with the Farmer, we were living in the Farmers property before that. Dad always said don't work



under your boss. A rambling cottage it was, with stone floors you know. This accomodation here is Council.'

'No, although I'm on supplementary, I don't mind telling you.'

'Well I should have spent it if I'd had it because I love to travel. If I saved half-a-crown a week we was doing alright. The kids came along. Rather than go in for our own home we helped the kids along with theirs, the 2 children, to put their deposits down. Then of course after they were both married I thought we would pick up a bit, but then what happened, the boy had his accident and we were going to Stoke Manderville every night.

I rub along - on Supplementary Income, 42 quid a week - with a little help from my friends. My daughter has me for Sunday lunch. If I need to go anywhere they run me around. So does my neighbour, they are wonderful couple next door.'

INTERNAL WORLD - Meanings in life

'What now? That thing (points to T.V.), 'cos I don't mix, only a very little. I'm sociable but I can't be bothered with old people's clubs. I say if they wont have with the 17 year olds I'm not going with the 70's, it will be 80's now anyway.'

'I'm content, I'm as well off as I've ever been. I've always scraped by and scratched. We had a good holiday every year mind you but Mrs. Thatcher is catching me up, she has just been to Morocco, I went years ago. My husband had a brother at Leigh-on-Sea, when the children were young we went there. Then as soon as we got the money together we went off but not to Spain or those types of places. I've been to Spain but my husband wanted a bit further because as a young man he was on the boats.'

'Well I think my family wonder someties but I go out, I get off one bus and on to another if I'm feeling up to it. There's nothing I go without. As I brag I have a piece of steak every weekend.'

'My neighbours always concerned. I tell you what they are concerned about, that's the stairs (Lives on second floor - no lift) and so is my daughter, that's why she wants me to go to Sheringham. With this house being delayed (Her daughter lives locally and wants to move to Norfolk with her mother.) I said if I don't go there in the summer I'm not going there in the winter.'

'I'm very stubborn. My Doctor said to my daughter that your mother is a bit of a character because I went there and she gave me something for blood pressure - they didn't suit me - so I went and told her. She didn't give me anything else and she said you've still got some tablets if your not up to it. I havn't taken one since and I wont. That's what she said to my daughter, your mother's a bit of a character.'

'Oh no, nobody can influence me, whether that's a good thing or not I don't know. I've got a good sister that trys, a young sister, 13 years younger.'

'Jolly good, it's alright for me I'm content to stop down here. Mind you if I was in the Home, (Indicating to an Old Peoples Home near-by where her sister lives.) that's why I consented to go with my daughter, being with your own family is better than going in a Home. That sister has got no family you see.'

'I rely completely on the Pension. I've got a Bob or two to pounce on but what's a £1000 nowadays. They give you the idea that you can have £8000 and claim, but what can you claim because there was a notice in Housing saying if you've got £3000 you can't claim. So what's the point, I don't ask them for anything.'

'I was inclined not to tell anyone about the Supplementary, but I've come to the conclusion, why shouldn't you, there's no disgrace in it. I mean I've paid tax and stamp all my life. If I'd been fortunate I'd have had my own house but the boy had the accident and the money went there. And my husband and I thought it was better to set them up in their own homes. As it's proved now. My daughter says if your roof blows off it's not your responsibility. There's no option now. I feel sorry for my grandchildren having to pay the interest they do on their mortgage.'

#### EXTERNAL WORLD - Contacts/Interactions

'I pass the time of day shall I say, now the neighbour next door, now I confide in her. It's a queer combination - she's Welsh and he's Scots - he's very abrupt and she's easily hurt but we get along wonderfully well.'

'My daughter and son-in-law, that's about all, and the grandchildren come up.

Sometimes once a week or fortnightly. I went out with my son-in-law last Saturday with his parents - he's retired now - although he's hoping to get something at Sheringham.'

'Well at present my neighbour, because she's right on the spot you see. And I suppose my daughter leaves a lot to her because she knows she's there you see. I tell you what happens, every morning I have to leave my rubbish out then they know I'm about.'

#### EXTERNAL WORLD - Social Aspects

'Oh flat, very flat, but I'm content. I mean I went out to lunch yesterday, quite a do, quite an ordeal at Barnfield College. We've booked again anyway.'

'Well I dont know that I want to. I'm content.'

'None at all. I don't go to Church, I've got nothing against Church but I've got nothing to go for it, no nothing at all. I tell you what since I've been living alone I talk to people more, on the buses you see. If anybody is prepared to converse, I'm prepared to converse with them. Now when I went to work it was different, it was just home and work 'cos you've got your interests at work you see.'

'Not personally, but somebody on the bus the other day said it's a lonely life. I said it's not for me. It's your attitude isn't it? Mind you it's that thing (Points to T.V.) and the radio that keeps me going. Any programmes of interest, I take note and I say to my family I know that's right, it was on T.V. or radio. I suppose I'm a bit of a barrack room lawyer.'

'I think when I was at work they used to think I was a bit toffee nosed. I was never toffee nosed but I think I know what gave them the idea, you see I didn't have time to stand and talk.'

'No never. I never get awkward if the children havn't been, I accept it. I usually get an excuse if they havn't been and I accept it and I think they'll come when the time comes. When the little ones come I'm glad to see them go. I like to see them but!.'

#### EXTERNAL WORLD - Life Style

'Well I like to take an interest. I like clothes and being smart. Mind you since old age is coming on it's not so easy, the clothes don't look so good on you.'

'They probably think I'm a bit snooty here, you see I will never stop and gossip. My husband was one for that, if I was at the front gate when he came home from work, he couldn't stand that. There was a long face or a bit of sulking. He was a proud man, I suppose that reacted on me.'

'Well I can't complain at all. Only about that T.V. licence, that's the only thing I crib about. The children, they don't give me an awful lot but they wouldn't see me without anything. I tell them I don't need it.'

'Well, I don't know, it's a bit difficult that. I always said if you have got a pound in your pocket you can be a Duchess, infact my sister calls me a Duchess. I used to say when I went on holiday and I'd got my money in my pocket I was as good as anybody.'

'Shall I say I couldn't care less. They always speak to me when I go near and some like to stand and gossip.'

'I've been very lucky, I've been pretty good. Well health it is everything really. How can you be happy, I've got an example in my son, mind you we're not morbid people. I can't visit a hospital, I don't like visiting a hospital although that is a selfish attitude. My

son has been sitting in that chair 29 years, if you was in talking to him you'd be laughing in a short time, about his escapades.'

'Well I've got no ambition to go on holiday now, that would be the only thing I would be saving for now, because the children are reasonably well settled. I can't help my son at Barton, he gets his Mobility and a car you see. I'm content as long as I've got a Bob in my pocket.

When you get to my age what clothes do you want? I cleared a lot out and gave ever such a lot to next door because her daughter is something to do with the Scouts. My daughter says if you havn't worn them for twelve months you should throw them out. That's alright for her to talk, I don't do that, I've got clothes that I've had for years and I've had to throw a lot out. Now I've come to the conclusion that I don't know as I need any. I've got a couple of good coats and a couple of good suits. I mean what do you need for where I go.'

I don't go short - only of a bottle of whisky - that's a bit much to expect though! No, I wouldn't drink a lot of whisky but I have a bottle of sherry as I've told you.'

'Mainly the children, I'm very interested in the children ofcourse, they include me in everyting, I'm never left out. If the weather is good I get off one bus and on to another, I don't need to spend any money, it's a wonderful thing that concessionary (Bus) pass.'

'I've never been well off, my husband was never a big wage earner and I wasn't. I've always had to pay income tax, if I'd felt well off I wouldn't have minded but I always felt I had to watch every penny I spent.

No, I was contented to work for what I got. I told my children they'd only get what they worked for. You get in a certain class and that's for us you see. My daughter, she did make the most of it, she was a Headmistress. The boy, he had no ambitions. I sent him for an exam and he reckoned he couldn't find it, he didn't intend to sit. And we put him into an apprenticeship and he didn't want it. He broke the apprenticeship and went in the Army at 18. What did that do for him? Well he was happy while he was there I believe, he got into all sorts of mischief, but he was happy. Then he came out and had that accident.'

#### WORLD OF POLICY MAKERS - Issues

'Well the thing is, what's the Welfare State? It's all got to be paid for in taxes and having a family and knowing what they pay in income-tax somebody has to pay for it. When people say to me we should have this or that I feel my kids are paying enough out as it is.'

'I don't demand too much. I only see the Doctor every now and again, that's why I think when you do go to the Doctors and you don't go very

often you should get good attention because you don't go for nothing. My daughter fetched her in at Christmas else I should have still sat here, she came up here and gave me some medication, I know I shouldn't have gone myself. That's when it is that you need somebody near you, a neighbour or somebody.

Well we have been very independent.'

'I think there's too big a split between them and us. Them at the top and them at the bottom. Mind you some of these people at the bottom, you couldn't help them because they won't do anything for themselves. One of the helpers at the Home, I did some crocheting for her, then her mother came here and she did look really poor and said what she should and shouldn't have but the whole time she was here she sat here and smoked Woodbines. I've got nothing against people having a smoke but I used to begrudge every penny I spent on it. I never smoke any more 'cos it is a waste, there's no doubt about it.'

'I go back to the Bus Pass, apart from that, that's all I ask for. I never ask for anything else'.

'I paid a full stamp up until I was 60 and a bit of tax after that. That's a long time you know, I must have had all I put in, and more.'

'Everybody says to me, look, you've paid for it. But how long does it go on if I get what I paid for.'

Shall I say I rub along, I watch points. I get onto my daughter, you get these coupons through the door, she never spends hers, so I say give them to me, I'll spend them. I had 30p last time I went to Sainsburys. 30p is 30p to me. My dinners, if I spend £1 one day I might only spend 75p the next day.'

'It makes you wonder, it's a joke of mine when I go to the P.O. I say, have you run out yet and they say, we've got enough for you. It makes you wonder if it will come to a stop. But I seem to think they are encouraging everyone to take out a Pension and people will have to be more self-reliant.'

'Don't see as it does.'

Oh yes, I didn't pay in for a separate pension, there was nothing like that in the hat trade, I don't know how it goes now.'

'Ridiculous. She was considered a ridiculous woman (Mrs Curry), and I still consider that. I mean, how stupid can a woman be. I had a bit of respect for her because she was out-spoken, but no, I didn't agree with that sort of talk.'

'As ridiculous.'

'Of course they've always got voting power but I find if they've always voted a certain way they won't change their minds. They don't look any further than their noses, half of them. Although, mind you my Dad was a Liberal and you tend to be the same as your parents, that faded out didn't it. Then my husband was a strict Labour man. I knew a neighbour who was a Conservative and I disagreed with my husband about the Labour man and I saw her go to the school to vote. I said I'm going now, that will squash her vote anyway.'

'None at all. None at all, shall I say. They don't even know I'm here. I've never had a Health Visitor come up here. My neighbours daughter works at the D.H.S.S. - she sorts out the Home Helps - she sent a message to me last year, if I wanted anyone, to apply. I don't want anyone, I cope. If I had a Home Help it would only be for a gossip.'

'I don't see as I have any at all as I don't interfere with anything. Perhaps some of it is my own fault. I clam up in my own little world, I'm content.'

'Yes, I say contentment is the answer of life. I've got no envy of people with money. Money doesn't mean anything to me now because of my son. If that would help him I would want money, but now, no I don't. It don't mean a thing to me as long as I can just get along. I bought a pair of shoes last week mind you, nearly £40, so I ain't doing so bad.'

#### WORLD OF POLICY MAKERS - Policies

'Yes, I think I have. Were they Home Helps at one time, and now they're care.

There is a limit to that sort of thing. I mean I think some people are bunged out of Hospital before they should be.'

'So far not at all, I never ask for anything you see. I can't be too cocky because you never know when...'

'Well there's different ways of looking at that. Well I'm subsidised with my rent, without that it would be pointless, useless almost, so with that I can say very good. But ofcourse your bit of savings, it's not helping it, is it.'

'I get along. I'm not a big eater, I have one big meal a day with vegetables and I always have a sweet. apart from that, my breakfast is porridge and a bit of toast and at night if I've got anything to put in a sandwich I have a sandwich, well I have one anyway. That's all I have. I don't eat a lot of cake. My sister buys me a bar of Cadburys chocolate every week - the ½ pound bar - I miss it if she doesn't. I say she spoils me. I never troubled.'

'It makes you wonder really, time will tell. It was on this morning about putting a lot of the Council Houses in Housing Associations. I

mean that's got to be proved hasn't it. I tell you what I can't stand Ridley, I think he's an awful man. Of course a lot of them are arrogant in the Government, I don't think they would be there if they weren't because they go along with Mrs. Thatcher. You have to admire that woman but how long is she going to keep it up, she's only a human being.'

'I can't see that they have.

'No, you see if they leave me here I'm more than happy. People say they can't put you out but it makes you wonder sometimes because I've got 2 bedrooms and they could suggest that I go into a 1 bedroom place I should imagine. You never know what will turn up do you?'

'I think the youngsters are hit more than retired. They seem to be building all for retired. That's how I got this place actually, I was in a 3 bedroom house when my husband died. My daughter was down at Austin Road School and I enquired about a flat because that house would do for a family. That's how I got here, ofcourse they can't force them out. Really I think it's a bit selfish.'

'Cos you see when I wanted a house they were available all over the place. You could get a house anywhere. We were in Beechwood Road, a 3 bedroom place all through the War.'

'The eyes and teeth should be for the poor but not for people on any claim nowadays, I think. If you're on Supplementary I don't think you get free eye treatment now - which I think they should - it's like if you've got a bit of savings, it doesn't go up like wages. Your savings don't go up with inflation, do they.'

'Mr. Carter at Alders I know so I always got my glasses at a great reduction which I was very lucky. You can get glasses on National D.H.S.S. but you've got to be content with what they give you. You've got a limit then. If there was anything a bit more up-to-date, of course, I wanted it. I like to keep up with the times.'

'Well I've never asked for anything. I've never been refused because I've never asked for anything, not apart from my Pension. I don't know how that goes, I can't tell you there.'

'No, I've got a few pounds of my own, you've only got to have a certain amount. They led you to believe you could only have up to £8000, but that's very different according to the Notice I read.'

'As I've said, I've never asked for anything so I don't know the reaction.'

'No, although I'm a good mind to write to them and ask them about this T.V. licence. I think there should be some protest about that regards Pensions. You've got to break into 2 weeks Pension to get that.'

'It does to me and I mean who looks at T.V. more than old people or listen to radio. I tell you what, when this colour goes I'm going back on black and white. That's what I keep saying. The family say no you won't. I won't pay a colour licence, you can see the point can't you.'

'Not at all. I don't go anywhere only to talk to people on the bus, that sort of thing, to give any opinion, and the family, they tell me to dry up.'

'I'm telling them what to do, that's what my daughter says, I'm always telling us what to do. They don't want to know.'

'It's a joke to me. I only shut up if I want to. Nobody else, only the family, I can take it from them.'

'No, I can't see as there is while they leave me in my house and I get my allowances, I can sit back and be happy. If anything comes down on me, well that will be different. I suppose I could apply for a new stove but I'm not going to, the old one will carry on. Mind you that's a different arrangement now, I think it's a loan now for pensioners. Anyway the family will give me an old one. No, it's alright it's only that one of the rings has gone.'

End of Transcript 01

Typed 8.4.89



# APPENDIX 8

Background data on respondents: 20 Redbourn site 20 Luton site

Resp.	Location	Economics		Gender		Housing			Age			
		E/F	non E/F	M	F	O/O	Rent	S/R	60+	65+	75+	85+
1	L	*			*		*					*
2	L	*			*		*					*
3	L	*			*		*					*
4	R	*			*			*		*		
5	R		*		*			*				*
6	R (Withdrew)											
7	R		*		*	*						*
8	R	*			*		*					*
9	R	*			*		*					*
10	R		*		*	*						*
11	L	*			*	*						*
12	L (Withdrew)											
13	R		*		*		*					*
14	R	*			*			*				*
15	R	*			*		*					*
16	R		*		*		*			*		
17	R	*			*		*					*
18	R	*			*		*					*
19	R		*		*		*					*
20	R	*			*	*						*
21	R	*			*		*					*
22	R		*		*		*					*
23	R	*			*			*				*
24	R	*			*			*				*
25	R	*			*		*					*
26	R	*			*		*					*
27	L	*			*		*					*
28	L	*			*	*						*
29	L		*		*	*						*
30	L	*			*			*				*
31	L	*			*			*				*
32	L		*		*			*				*
33	L		*		*		*			*		
34	L		*		*		*					*
35	L		*		*	*			*			
36	L		*		*	*				*		
37	L (Asian)		*		*	*				*		
38	L (Asian) *				*		*			*		
39	L		*		*	*					*	
40	L		*		*	*						*
41	L		*		*		*			*		
42	L		*				*				*	
Totals		22	18	20	20	11	21	8	1	7	24	8

Comment ...see overleaf

The above categories are self explanatory except for 'Housing': O/O stands for Owner/Occupier and S/R for Sheltered Housing or Residential Care.

Much comment has been made in the main text about gender, race and economic issues.

The respondents all lived in the community, accepting that sheltered housing and residential care (in this case social care and not nursing care) are part of the community. Two respondents did have periods of hospitalisation for acute problems, however, both returned home. At the end of the programme all the respondents were still living in the community.

The age distribution of the programme's respondents is much older than the national trend, this indicates a programme tending towards the 'old' elderly (OPCS, 1981 Census Data), therefore the outcome of the research has to be seen in that context. However, comparisons within the programme between young/old older people were made but no significant differences were demonstrated.

## APPENDIX 9

### Older People and Community Care - A brief chronology.

This section highlights the major points of reference and benchmarks in the evolution of the NHS and Community Care Act, 1990. Although for the purposes of this Research Programme it will be considered primarily from an older person's perspective, the concept and the policies also embrace other groups of people. The reverse is also true, for example, the chronology commences with the 1959 Mental Health Act; while this was aimed at mentally ill people it also had a significant impact on older people in relocating services away from institutions towards a community base.

Three particular works have been of significant use in assembling the chronology (Wagner, 1988; Maclean, 1989; Henwood, 1990), although other sources have been used too.

1959 Mental Health Act.

This aimed to found a community care service provision for people with mental illness not requiring in-patient treatment. Services were to be relocated away from institutions towards a community base.

1961 Richard Titmuss delivers a seminar on Community Care.

At the Annual Conference of the National association for Mental Health he delivered an address asking whether community care was fact or fiction. This was later reproduced (Titmuss, 1968) and is referred to in the bibliographical review.

1962 The Last Refuge.

Peter Townsend's (1962) study of residential provision for older people, in which he identified their shortcomings and argued that alternative services should replace them quickly. Other significant commentators began criticising residential care (Goffman, 1961, and 1968; Meacher, 1972), and the conscience of the public was successively and successfully pricked by news of apparent neglect or actual cruelty within hospitals and long stay homes.

1963 White Paper on the development of Community Care.

'The Ministry of Health and Welfare: the development of community care' (HMSO, 1973). Geriatric patients were to be included in the new plans.

1974 Joint Planning.

A statutory obligation (Sec 10, NHS Reorganisation Act, 1973) was laid on Health and Local Authorities to co-ordinate their activities. Machinery was established to undertake this but divergent administrative arrangements caused the intended collaboration effectively to fail for at least the next ten years.

1976 Consultative document on Health and Personal Social Services.

It restated the policy commitment to community care and attempted systematically to rationalise priorities throughout the two service providers.

1978 Consultative Document: 'A Happier Old Age'.

The discussion covered a number of areas but aimed at joint working and longer term strategies.

1981 White Paper: Growing Older.

Descriptive about services, identified a public expenditure squeeze, in a bid to counter inflation, and emphasised 'care in the community....must mean care by the community'. Henceforth calculations would mainly be made in terms of effectiveness and efficiency of services and about the importance of establishing appropriate balances of care. Joint planning between L/A's and Regional H/A's amounted to no more than parallel planning over the previous years.

1983 Care in the Community Initiative.

Establishment of a programme with a budget to explore ways of moving people from hospital into community care but a subtle change in emphasis had already occurred with the government now showing a discreet distancing of the statutory services from what was to be seen as community care. Informal carers, mainly female family members, were identified as those with the primary and continuing responsibility for older people outside of institutions.

1985 Progress in Partnership.

DHSS Joint Working Party Report. Paradoxically this review had been carried out precisely because of the deep sense of frustration and lack of progress in the last decade. Joint planning may have to accept that one of the authorities involved in community care provision should take the lead for particular groups.

1985 Report from the social services committee on community care.

'Any fool can close a long stay hospital' (Para 40, Page xxii). The conclusion that more investment should be made was emphatic: 'The stage has now been reached where the rhetoric of community care has to be matched by the action, and where the public are understandably anxious about the consequences' (Para 27, Page xvii).

1985 Report from the Audit Commission.

'Managing Services for the Elderly More Efficiently'. This was primarily about how to improve value for money in existing services. In effect it was re-classifying the dependent elderly away from health care to social care and had a narrow managerial focus.

1986 Report from the Audit Commission.

'Making a Reality of Community Care'. Reported that progress on community care was, 'in disarray' and that it appeared much easier to close hospitals than to establish alternative community care support systems for discharged people. Mushrooming growth of a variety of private residential provision caused anomalies with DHSS Benefits. The apparent 'open-ended' DHSS cheques were soon curtailed

1987 National Audit Office Report.

When examining the progress in implementing community care policies noted that it had, 'been slower than the DHSS would have liked.' Radical change was still needed and Sir Roy Griffiths had started (Dec 1986) his overview of community care policy.

1988 Wagner Report on residential care.

A review, 'to promote a fundamental change in the public perception of the residential sector and of its place in the spectrum of social care.'

1988 Public Accounts Committee.

Examined the value for money of community care and criticised a lack of systematic monitoring of performance.

1988 Community Care: An Agenda for Action.

Sir Roy Griffiths presents proposals for 'the successful and efficient delivery of community care policies.' It gave a framework for accountability and responsibilities and introduced a new language for care provision including 'purchasers of care packages'.

1989 Two White Papers.

(i) Caring for People: Community Care in the next decade and beyond.  
(Cm 849)

(ii) Working for Patients.  
(Cm555)

These two complementary White Papers set out how the Government believes health and social care services should develop over the next decade including funding, organisation, responsibilities and the expectation to make the maximum use of the independent sector. Funding for L/A's remains problematic although the Regional H/A's will have a budget allocation specifically for the mentally ill. The L/A's will have to implement their responsibilities in Caring for People from 1.4.91.

1990 Fifth Report from the Social Services Select Committee.

'Community Care: Carers'. Considers the unsatisfactory plight of carers especially from a Benefits and Poll Tax viewpoint. Many of the

recommendations specifically mentioned the orchestrated discrimination and exploitation women carers receive at the hands of the State.

1990 Sixth Report from the Social Services Select Committee.

'Community Care: Choice for Service Users'. Discusses inconsistencies in the Government's funding, the importance of monitoring and a re-statement of the role of case management.

1990 June, The NHS and Community Care Act.

The 3rd reading and Royal Assent was given and Caring for People becomes The NHS and Community Care Act, 1990. However, during the 3rd Reading the Lords recommended the ring fencing of monies for Community Care because of their concern that L/A's may spend it on other things. This was rejected by the Commons, although it received some back-bench support, presumably because of the concern that if funding was ring fenced it could be too easily identified as being derisory.

1990 July, (18th)

The Minister at the D.O.H., Kenneth Clarke, announces some backsliding by the Government over the implementation of the Community Care Programme. This would avoid the Poll Tax being raised by £15 per head across the country to pay for its implementation. A new and phased timetable was made public:-

April 1991: Care plans, inspections, complaints and mental health grants systems all to commence.

April 1992: Assessment and Case management to commence.

April 1993: Social Security transfers over funding to commence.

1990 October, (10th)

At the Conservative Party Conference a leaked document suggested further savage cuts (£50 million) in the Community Care budget had been accepted by Clarke in the annual Public Sector payround negotiations with the Treasury. This claim was dismissed by him and termed only, 'a negotiating position'.

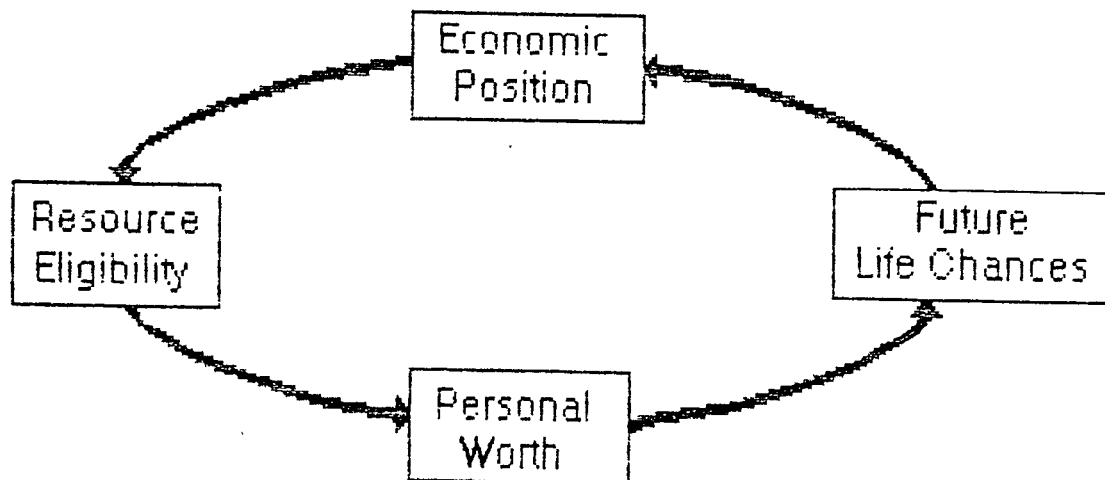
1990 December

In a Cabinet reshuffle, where Kenneth Clarke is replaced by William Waldegrave as Minister of Health, Michael Heseltine re-enters the cabinet and 'Reviews the Poll Tax'. Community Care survives a further postponement but the Minister is continually on the defensive saying it is still to be phased-in and not phased-out. He spends much of 1991 saying the same thing.

## FIGURE 1 'THE IMPACT'

Micro concept : — Older People's Life Cycles

### The Evolving Social Incarceration Model

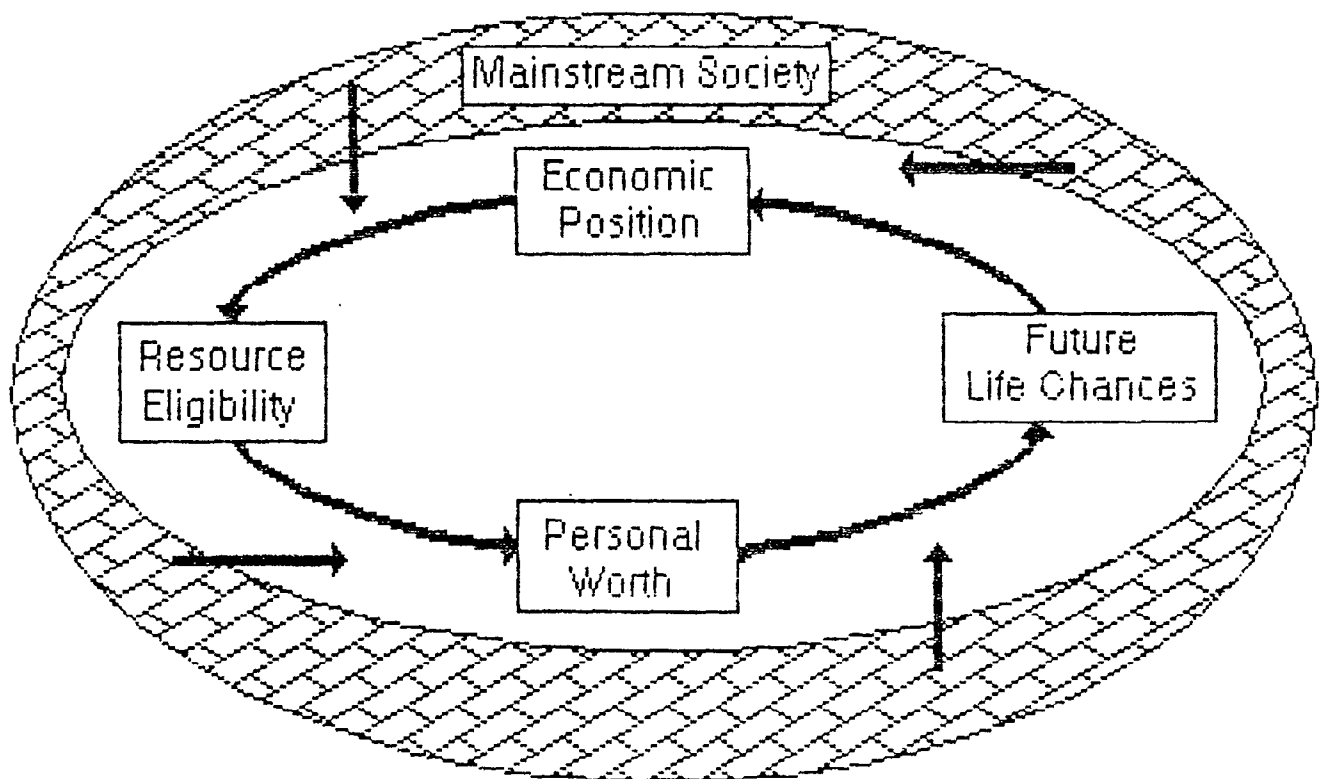


Underpinned by : — Pervasiveness of Economics  
Economically Fragile Concept  
Gender Inequalities  
Language

## FIGURE 2 'THE PROCESS'

Macro concept : — The Political Social Control  
of 'Problem Populations'

The Process of the Social Incarceration Model  
for Economically Fragile Older People within  
their own community

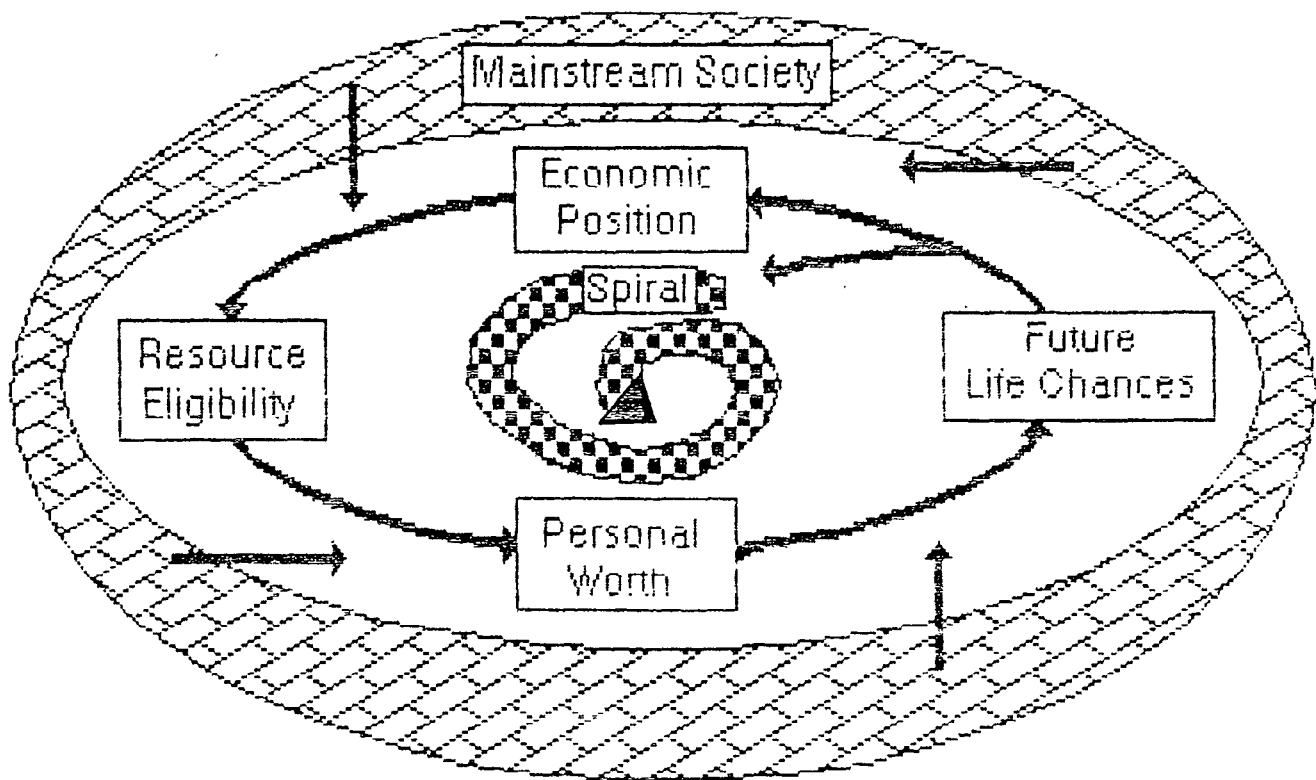




### FIGURE 3 'THE OUTCOME'

#### The Career of the Economically Fragile

Personal experiential journeys through the  
Social Incarceration Spiral



The effects of the State disclaiming responsibility :  
Career paths from State political responsibility to  
personal consequences.

List of Abbreviations used in the text

A B P I	Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry
A D S S	Association of Directors of Social Services
A H A	Area Health Authority
C B I	Confederation of British Industry
C E P H	Care for Elderly People at Home Project
C N A	Carers National Association
C S O	Central Statistics Office
D O E	Department of the Environment
D O H	Department of Health
D H S S	Department of Health and Social Security
D S S	Department of Social Security
E E C	European Economic Community
E O C	Equal Opportunities Commission
E S R C	Economic and Social Research Council
F E S	Family Expenditure Survey
G A D	Government Actuaries Department
H B A I	Households Below Average Income
I C A	Invalidity Care Allowance
I L F	Independent Living Fund
I F S	Institute of Fiscal Studies
I S	Income Support
L A	Local Authority
L I F	Low Income Families
L W T	London Weekend Television
O A P	Old Age Pension
O P C S	Office of Population, Census and Surveys

P S I Policy Studies Institute

S E R P S State Earnings Related Pension Scheme

S B            Supplementary Benefit

S S D      Social Service Departments

T U C      Trade Union Congress

U N E S C O United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural  
Organisation